

REFLECTIONS  
Upon the use of the  
Eloquence  
*of these times.*

Together with a  
COMPARISON  
Between the Eloquence  
of Cicero and Demosthenes.

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Translated out of French.

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O X F O R D,  
Printed, and are to be sold  
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Anno 1672.

LECTURES

on the life of the

ELIZABETH

of York

Together with a

MEMOIR

of the Elizabeth

of Oxford and Cambridge

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Translated out of French.

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OF A. A. D.

Printed, and are to be sold by the  
Booksellers, in London.

A  
COMPARISON  
between the  
*ELOQUENCE*  
of *Demosthenes* and  
*Cicero*.

CHAP. I.

*A commendation of Demosthenes and Cicero, giving an account of their respective Merits.*

**S**uch is the worth of *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, that it cannot be discover'd but by those who are in like manner qualified; nor valued but according

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according to the degree in which it is possess'd. The understanding which young men acquire by their first studies, is too much limited to make them capable of judging between these Authors, or of putting a just value upon their works; to which end there is requir'd both a good stock of natural abilities, improv'd by a settled & solid reason, (the effect of time & age) & an uncorrupted & unprejudic'd judgment, gain'd by being well read in ancient writers. I am far from presuming that I am endow'd with these qualifications, yet I hope my endeavors will not altogether prove useless to others towards the attaining them, if I here make observations upon what is most remarkable in these two Orators. This was the only motive which induced me to publish my reflections upon this subject: and I must needs confess that after having made them, I was more perswaded than before, that the  
Genius

Genius of these two men, like other miraculous productions of nature, was never seen in the world but once; and that though 'tis difficult to apprehend their excellencies, yet 'tis much more so to describe them. It is acknowledged that neither Eloquence ever made two greater Orators, nor Policy rais'd two more accomplish'd States-men. But it is not easy to determine, by which of those two means they got most reputation; Since besides their great abilities, and the profound insight which their refin'd understandings gave them into business, they also had the advantage of being able to maintain in their publick assemblies, whatever they propounded, and of perswading their audience to what they pleas'd. It were superfluous here to treat of the Orations, Negotiations, Embassies, Treaties, secret and publick intelligences, and the Expeditions *Demosthenes* ran

B 2                      through;

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through ; as well as of the Superintendencies, Provincial governments, Military commands, and absolute power *Cicero* enjoy'd in the most flourishing State in the world, seeing they furnish us with far greater subjects to discourse of. For there is nobody but knows the good fortune they both had, of numbring Kings in the list of their Clients and adherents ; of giving their protection to Crowns, and of ruling the Destiny of all that was then great in the world. The Eloquence of *Demosthenes*, was the Grecians surest defence, & the Persians greatest security against the designs of the Macedonian Kings ; and that of *Cicero* in destroying *Catiline*, saved Rome from a ruine, which otherwise she neither could have avoided, nor repair'd ; and rais'd young *Octavius* to the Consulship, when he, ( considering the aversion which all men then had to the Usurpation of his Predecessor ) dar'd not so much

as

and Cicero compar'd. 5

as think on't; especially at the age he was of, had not *Cicero* encourag'd him with a promise of his assistance: and indeed it was he alone who first turn'd the tide, in that strange conjuncture of affaires, by those Oration's he made to the people against *Marc Anthony*.

The abilities of these two great men were such, as made the most knowing persons among the Ancients look upon them as prodigies; and indeed if any one will take the pains to dive deep into their works, they will find so vast an extent of knowledge, that it is hard to conceive, how it was possible for them, who spent almost their whole lives in publick employments, to spare so much time for study: for never did any two heads contain, either so many State Intrigues, or so much of that knowledge, which is obtain'd by study and meditation.

C H A P.

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CHAP. II.

*Learned men have not dared to determine which of the two ought to be prefer'd.*

Nothing can represent unto us so lively an Idea of their worth, as the difficulty all learn'd and Eloquent men have found in deciding which of the two ought to have the precedence; the forbearance of which, is an indubitable signe of the respect every one bore them; this decision being lookt upon, as a thing too difficult, or too bold, for any one to attempt; and the truth is (not to mention a great many able-men who have been famous in later times) I find that *Plutarch*, *Quintilian*, and *Longinus*, who are the three Persons of the ancients who have best known, most carefully examin'd, and most clearly judg'd of De-  
mosthenes



*Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, are very reserv'd in this matter; and have not dared to declare themselves in the deciding of it. I mention not here that Sicilian call'd *Cecilius*, who first (as *Suidas* tells us) compared them together, because his works are lost.

*Longinus* in his treatise of the Lofty way of speaking, after having compared the Eloquence of *Demosthenes* to Lightning, which overturns all things, and <sup>a</sup> *Cicero's* to a great fire which devoures and consumes all, that he might not be oblig'd to give his judgment of them, refers his Readers to *Terentianus*, who is more obscure in the case than himself.

<sup>b</sup> *Quintilian* where he compares the qualities and accomplishments of these two Orators, does first premise,

Αλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὑμῖν ἀναμεινον ἐπιχείροιτε,  
Cap. II.

<sup>b</sup> Non ignoto quantam mihi concitem pugnam; cum id non sit propositi ut *Ciceronem* *Demostheni* comparem.  
Lib. 10, cap. 1.

that

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that he pretends not to decide which ought to be prefer'd, but avoids it as a presumption he dares not allow himself; and add's, that he should think himself too far engaged, if he should venture to declare his opinion in the case.

*Plutarch* the most judicious and quick sighted amongst the Criticks, after having at large drawn their Pictures; after having put their fancy, humours, tempers, and even their adventures in the ballance, dares not make it incline either way, but acknowledg'des that he is not well enough vers'd in the Latine tongue, to be able to judge between them. It might be thought, seeing he had been Tutor to *Trajan*, & wrote in the time of *Adrian*, & it being the custom of the Greeks, not to write in praise of any nation but their own, that this his reservedness proceeded from an excess of complacency, or from some Politick reason, as if he design'd by this  
meanes

and Cicero compar'd. 9

meanes to ingratiate himself with the Romans; & indeed one may wonder, he layd not hold on the advantage of three hundred yeares reputation, w<sup>ch</sup> his *Demosthenes* had over *Cicero*, it being in case of reputation as in that of Nobility, where that which is most ancient is most esteem'd. But not to stand upon false conjectures, it is more then probable that these three Criticks, who are reckon'd among the most judicious, have not determin'd any thing in the foremention'd controversy, because it is difficult to resolve which side to take, when both are so eminently deserving. For a discerning apprehension, which in other cases is indispensably necessary to fit one to judge well of things, is here an obstacle to it, and the more one sees into them, the more difficult it is to pronounce, which best deserves the prize. For this cannot be determin'd, unless there be some apparent disparity, which

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it is as hard to discover, as 'tis to compare their wit or Eloquence, seing there is no certain rule whereby to measure them. Notwithstanding that we may make some kind of comparison between them, we must fix upon some principle, according to which we may examin these two great Persons who hitherto have past for the sole standards of true Eloquence.

CHAP. III.

*The fixing on a rule by which the comparison may be made.*

**S**O then we are to enquire what Eloquence properly is; and being it is an art that does altogether exist in the internal faculties of the soule, the Ideas of it have been multiplied, according to the diversity of the Genius of those, who have appli'd themselves to it; & hence it came  
to

to pass; that every age has formed to  
its self a Character of Eloquence,  
agreeable to the humor and mode  
of the times. *Protagoras* his Elo-  
quence, whom *Plato* stiles the first  
founder of the order of Sophisters;  
was altogether superficial, and con-  
sisted only in words, whereas that  
of *Pericles* and *Lycias* was nothing  
but things.

The Eloquence of *Crassus* and  
*Antony*, of *Cotta* and *Sulpitius*, of  
which *Cicero* hath left us so faire  
characters in his book *de Oratore*, is  
much different from that of those de-  
clamers, the fragments of whose works  
we meet with in *Seneca's* controver-  
sies. I mention not the diverse kinds  
of Eloquence, we light upon in the  
works of *Pliny* the younger, *Cornelius*  
*Tacitus*, *Cassiodorus*, *Symmachus*, *Pa-*  
*catus*, *Mamertinus*, *Ennodius*, and ma-  
ny others, in whom the acuteness of  
style by degrees grew duller, and  
follow'd the fate of the then declining  
Empire,

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Empire, for its survey would be endless. So that considering in how many several shapes eloquence has appear'd in diverse ages, it may well be reckon'd among those things, w<sup>ch</sup> by being too general, and having too many different dresses, cannot be particularly defin'd, and thereby seem not to have in themselves any certain state. But however it will be sufficient to our purpose if under so changeable an outside, we find that she hath constantly preserv'd her most essential part, which is the art of perswasion, unalter'd: For all the Authors both ancient and modern, who treat of this subject, do conclude that perswasion is the end of Eloquence; though they do not agree upon the means that must be us'd in the attaining that end: they being so different, according to the several methods that men have invented to affect the heart: and yet this must be known, if we will be sure not to mistake, in the comparison we are pursuing. . As

and Cicero compar'd. 13

As therefore Eloquence must persuade, so must Rhetorick seek out the means how it may be done; the first finds materials, and the latter must set them a work. But let us consider a little what it is to persuade? *Quintilian* makes his *Apollodorus* say, it is a rendring ones self master of the soul of the Auditour, and a leading of him as it were in triumph wheresoever we please. This definition, as figurative as it is, is very natural, for persuasion is a kind of captivating of the soul of a man, it is a victory over his opinion, a fetching over of his will to our own side, a mastery gain'd over his heart, and a despoiling him of what he holds most dear, that is his liberty. What can a man imagine to be more great or glorious, then this? Or how inconsiderable is all the power of force, and authority, compar'd to this of persuasion, whose Empire extends it self even over the heart.

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It was for this reason doubtless, that *Xenophon* makes *Socrates* observe, that Perswasion is more powerful than even violence it self.

It is then no wonder, considering the natural inclination all men have to govern, if an art that so much enlarges our Empire, has had so many disciples who desir'd to learn, or so many masters who pretend to teach it. All books are full of precepts about this ambitious science, neither was there ever so much writ about any of the other parts of learning, as about this of perswasion: & that I may not engage my self in a tedious search into all those who have treated of it, I shall only mention six of the Greeks, and two of the Romans, who have been famous above all others in this matter, and from whom, all that have written since, have either copied, or collected all they have. The Greeks who have written of it, are *Plato* in diverse places of his works, *Aristotle*



in his books of Rhetorick, *Demetrius Phalereus* the disciple of *Theophrastus*, in his treatise of Elocution, *Hermogenes* in his of invention, and in his Ideas, *Dionysius Halicarnassens* in his art, and in his construction of words, and *Longinus* in the forementioned treatise of the Lofty way of speaking. The Romans are, *Cicero* in his book *de Oratore*, and *Quintilian* in his institutions: but because *Aristotle* is he of all the rest, who seems best to establish and draw things into the most regular & exact method, I shall adhere to him in making my reflections upon this universal art of perswasion, whose nature and origine I am now pursuing.

I confess *Plato's* manner of writing is Lofty, and his designs noble, which he carries on to the end with admirable order and method, and that he is much less fantastick, then some of the Aristotelians would perswade us in these latter times; and  
the

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the truth is, he proposes to himself greater things in all arts, than those who have writ after him; and his more elevated thoughts do plainly discover the more then ordinary familiarity he had with the Ægyptians. For 'tis from them, who were the first learned men in the world, that all sciences descended to us: and as their apprehensions of things, were more conformable to the simplicity of nature, not as yet corrupted by a multitude of different opinions, nor bias'd by the partiality of divers sects; so doubtless was their insight more clear, their notions less abstracted, and their knowledge lesse limited.

*Socrates*, whom he makes his Heroe, and his universal example and model in all sciences, and whom he represents speaking all those precepts he gives the world, does very well express what he would give us an Idea of: and this insinuating way he takes,  
of

and Cicero compar'd. 17

of setting out his chief character, is very neat and handsome; but while he endeavours to make him in his discourses appear natural, easy & complaisant, he represents him as one that doubts of the very things he pretends to teach, by his entangling questions. Not but that his reasonings are forcible enough, and command their minds to whom he speaks; but yet whosoever reads his works, is often forced to make conclusions of his own, because this author is too unresolv'd, and leaves them without concluding any thing himself. Men are more benefited by his Scholar *Aristotle*, who is more instructive, more ingenuous, and sticks closer to his purpose. *Plato's* way of beginning with commendations, of that he intends to find fault with in the end, would be proper I confess in a Negotiation, where one subtle Polititian designs to overreach another, but *Aristotle's* being more plain, is fitter for

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the Schools ; for those that teach must be positive in their assertions. I shall not stand to characterize the other four Greek Authors who have writ of Eloquence, though I agree that *Demetrius* is an author, that judges as discerningly as any of the Antients, that *Hermogenes* seems one of the most exactly methodical, *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* one of the most learn'd, ( though his art be less instructive than his construction of words ) and *Longinus* very judicious : but being Elocution is the bound, which they pretend not to go beyond, and of which *Demetrius* meddles only with the more smooth part, *Hermogenes* with its different Characters, *Dionysius* with its ornaments, and graceful harmony, and *Longinus* with its majesty ; none of them have bin particular in defining the nature of that perswasion which we now spake of. *Cicero* and *Quintilian* 'tis true have done

don't more towards it, but seeing they treat of it only in the same method with *Aristotle*, and have indeed only explain'd his meaning in it; I shall stick only to him, in the clearing of the essential constitutive parts of perswasion, the rule I intend to make use of, in measuring the Eloquence of *Cicero*, and distinguishing it from that of *Demosthenes*.

<sup>a</sup> We perswade (saith *Aristotle*) by the credit we get in mens thoughts. There are three things which concur to the acquiring of this same credit, and which are as it were the springs, whence flows perswasion. These three things are the deserts of the speaker, the favourable disposition of the Audience, and the manner of speaking. And seeing the whole art of Rhetorick may be redu-

<sup>a</sup> Τὸ ἐπειθόμενον ὁ πιθανόν. *Rhet. lib. 1. cap. 2.*

<sup>b</sup> Τῇ δὲ αἰσ. τῇ λόγῳ ποιεσμένῳ πίστιν τελεῖται, ἐν τῇ ἡθῇ τῇ λέγοντος, ἐν τῇ ἀκογῇ διακρίναι πως ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ λόγῳ. *l. 1 Rhet. c. 2.*

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ced to those three heads , it will not  
thence be impossible to draw a scheme  
by w<sup>ch</sup> we may in some method judge  
of these two orators. That we may  
then begin with their personal de-  
sert, we will endeavour to dive into  
their heart and thoughts ; for all  
personal worth , which consists ei-  
ther in our abilities, or manners,  
springs thence. And seeing nothing  
does conduce more to perswading,  
than the opinion we raise in the au-  
dience of our ability and honesty, we  
will enquire what portion of these  
*Demosthenes* and *Cicero* possess ; and  
what impressions they were capable  
of making therewith in the minds of  
men : and first of their abilities.

CHAP.

## CHAP. IV.

*The abilities of these two Authors compar'd.*

**D***emosthenes* having lost his Father whilest he was yet young, fell into the hands of Guardians, that too much consulted their interest; who partly out of negligence, and partly out of avarice, took not that care of his education which they ought. So that he learn'd scarce any of those things, which it is the care of parents generally to fix in the minds of children, when they first begin to enter upon study. His Mother too gave way to this neglect, through her overmuch fondness of him; besides that he was of so weak and tender a constitution of body, that his unhealthful condition could not permit that he should be set hard to his studies. As soon as he was sixteen years old, which is the time

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time for learning of Rhetorick, instead of sending him to the School of *Isocrates* who was then in most esteem, he was placed with the Orator *Isæus*, because that as his reputation was less then the others, so were the charges they were thereby put to; and it was there that he got those ill habits, w<sup>ch</sup> he himself tells us he afterwards so difficultly broke himself of.

*Cicero* had the advantage of being incomparably better educated then *Demosthenes*; for his parents having discovered in him very good naturall parts, and an early dawning of those excellent qualities he afterward was master of, took an extraordinary care of him. But though at five years old, when other children are not capable of applying themselves to any thing, he discover'd a great inclination to study, his Father thought good rather to keep him back a while, then to egge him on: at which *Cicero* seem'd not a little dissatisfied, and impa-



impatient, especially when he saw some of his companions goe to Schcol to one *Plotius*, who was then in vogue for a good master: yet his father was much to be commended for this restraint, seeing the too early setting of children to study, by striving to ripen the understanding before the due time, may weaken nature, but will never bring her to perfection. And I find also both these great persons, who attain'd to that perfection all the world knowes, began not to set themselves to their studies till pretty late.

*Cicero's* Father and friends judg'd, the Greek tongue the fittest thing they could set him to at first, and therefore made him begin with that. All the able men that came to Rome between the time of the Consulship of M.

*Continebar hominum doctissimorum autoritate, qui existimabant Græcis litteris ali melius ingenia. Epist. ad M. Tit.*

*Scevola*

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*Scevola*, and the end of *Sylla's* Dictatorship, were his masters. I mean that *Phedrus* he commends so much in his Epistles, that *Philo* the Academick and Scholar to *Clitomachus*, whom he mentions in his book *De natura deorum*, *Molo* the Rhodian, whose Eloquence was so much talk'd of, and under whom he studied two severall times, and a certain *Sicilian* call'd *Diodotus*, a Great Geometrician, of whom he learn't Logick, and whom he speaks of in his Tusculan questions. Thus at the age of seventeen or eighteen years he had ran through the almost infinite extent of all the Sciences, which might any way be usefull to him, in the acquisition of his passionatly beloved Eloquence.

As soon as he had master'd the Greeke tongue, he gave himself to Poetry, unto which in his younger years he had a great inclination. At

*Athen. l.3. Strab. l.10. Hist. Pausan. in descrip.*

fix-

## and Cicero compar'd. 25

sixteen years old he wrote the Poeme of *Glaucus Pontius*, in imitation of *Eschylus*; & the following year, that he might better understand Astronomy, he translated the Poem of *Aratus*, of which some considerable fragments are come to our hands. He translated likewise not long after *Plato's Timeus*, and his *Protagoras*, the Oeconomicks of *Xenophon*, and divers other pieces. *Plutarch* tells us, that from his very tender years, he discover'd a natural capacity for all sciences, such as *Plato* requires in the Philosopher whom he describes; who ought to be (sayes he) *a lover of all kind of knowledge*. It was on this manner *Cicero* past his youth, till his twenty sixth year, at which time he began to speak in publick.

But as *Tully* on this side so happily made use of his naturall pars, and the care his friends took of him; so on

*Lr 5. Reip.*

the

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the other *Demosthenes* found no small oppositions to that thirst of glory his ambition excited in him. For besides the base avarice and cheating tricks of his Guardians ; who were nothing sorry to see him loose his time , that thereby he might remaine in obscurity, (as tis generally the lot of ignorance todo) and so probably not be in any capacity of bringing them into any trouble after his minority; he found yet greater obstacles both in his inward faculties, and in the outward imperfections of his body, to his ardent desires of becoming eloquent. But what nature did for *Cicero*, endeavor perform'd in behalf of *Demosthenes*. This desire in him was so violent , that he found no obstacle able to withstand it, nor any difficulty but what it easily overcame; so that it was nothing but ambition which fashion'd him , and made him conquer the evil inclination of an age , which sought after nothing but  
plea-

and Cicero compar'd. 27

pleasures, and that in Athens, where they were authoriz'd by the ill example of a people wholly given to luxury and debauchery. And this made him prefer the conversation of *Theophrastus* and *Xenocrates*, and the *Platonists*, before *Phrynes*.

Nay he imposed upon himself a necessity of retiring for some time from the converse of the world, which to effect, he made use of a very odd expedient, which was to shave half his head, that by reason of the shame of that deformity, he might be oblig'd to hide himself for some moneths. One may well say of him, that he was content to be buried alive, or at least that he would not live for any other end, but that he might apply himself to the study of Eloquence, unto which he had devoted all his thoughts. He was about sixteen years old, when he began to study it, and this passion was first exci-

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excited in him, upon the extraordinary applause, which he saw given to *Callistratus*, for some cause he had pleaded: with which *Demosthenes* was so taken, that he immediatly abandon'd all his other studies, that he might wholly apply himself to that of Eloquence. This retirement and all the other hardships he underwent, which *Cicero*, *Plutarch*, *Quintilian*, *Libanius*, *Lucian*, *Photius*, and many others mention so much to his advantage, were evident signs of this his violent inclination. And indeed what was there he did not to gratify it? Can one imagine any thing more odd, then to goe and declame upon the Sea Shore, as he did, that by hearing the Roarings of its Waves, he might use himself not to be disturb'd at the tumultuous commotions of the multitude, and the rude noise of the rabble? What is there more toilsome then to speak loud, and with vehemence

mence, climbing up to the top of some craggy steep places, as he did, that thereby he might strengthen his voice; his tongue was so unwieldy, that he could not pronounce certain letters without much trouble; which imperfection that he might breake himself of, he us'd to declame with his mouth full of pibbles. He also practis'd speaking to a lookinglasse, thereby to acquire a gracefull aire, and becoming action when he spoke. Nay he had recourse even to a Player who was then famous, that he might learn of him to pronounce well, and to sute his expressions with all proper externall ornaments of gesture; and by these laborious practices and an unwearied perseverance it was, that at last he came to surmount all those impediments in his speech, and other imperfections, that so much disgusted the *Athenians*, the first time he spoke in Publick.

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Tis then no wonder that *Cicero* finding none of these obstacles to struggle with, enlarged his knowledge to a far wider extent than *Demosthenes*; the latter of w<sup>ch</sup> being naturally very eager and ambitious, and seeing Eloquence the only way he had to become great, employed all his study in its acquisition. So that at the age of eighteen, he began to plead against his Guardians *Aphobus* and *Onetor*, to constrain them by law to give him an account of his estate: whereas *Cicero* letting himself loose, and giving himself a full carriere into the universall pursuit of all Sciences, ran through them with an indefatigable industry; and so replenish'd his mind with all kind of knowledge, which could either perfect or adorn it.

He fail'd not however at nineteen years old, to be very constant and assiduous in hearing the Orations *P. Sulpitius* made all the year he was  
Tri-



and Cicero compar'd. 31

Tribune, that by the imitation of so great a pattern, he might perfect himself in the practise of Eloquence; for he was the man, who was most esteemed of at that time in Rome, as to what concern'd Eloquence. But he himself began not to speak in Publick, till he had attain'd to the age of seven and twenty, which he did in so remarkable a manner, as made the whole Commonwealth take notice of him. All the most famous Lawyers of the Court fearing to offend *Sylla*, had refus'd to undertake *Roscius's* case, who was accus'd of Parricide; when young *Cicero*, with a confidence becoming his age, undertook his defence against the Dictator's favorite; The good successe of which, prov'd the first step toward that glory he afterwards arriv'd to. But it made too much noise, not to be look't upon by *Sylla* with a jealous eye, and by *Chrysogonus* with a revengefull one; for this freed-man  
that

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that ruled him who had made himself Master of the Commonwealth, brought upon *Cicero*, by the ill offices he did him; a persecution which ended not but with the Dictators life.

So being forc'd to leave Rome, to avoid the storm he saw ready to break upon him, he wisely spread a rumour, that he did it only by the advice of his Physicians, who told him, it would be much for his health, to interrupt his study's, and goe travell for some time. He made use of this pretence for his retirement, least he should seem to betray any signs of fear, or inconstancy, which might possibly have taken off from the good opinion all men had conceived of him for his last action. Thus he staid some time at *Athens*, where finding himself free and disengaged from all other businesse, he acquainted himself with the different opinions of the severall sects  
of

of Philosophers, that were then famous. He also applied himself again to the study of Eloquence, (that thereby he might recall into his mind his former notions of it, ) under a certain Syrian Orator named *Demetrius*. The eager desire he then had of knowledge, made him within a while after travell through all *Asia*, to be there instructed by the most famous men in every science, among whom was *Menippus* the Carian, the best Orator of his time, *Eschylus* the Cnidian, *Dionysius* the Magnesian, *Xenosles*, and some others. And as he made Eloquence his chiefest aim, so would he many times exercise himself therein with these men upon proper subjects, and by this meanes he made more advantage as to his studies of his travells and rambling, then he could have gain'd at Rome in his closet.

About the same time he likewise met with *Apollonius Molo* in Rhodes,

D

who



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who had formerly been his master in Italy: this Orator having heard him repeat some piece in Greek, because he understood not Latine very well, spoke that sentence to him, which we find recorded by <sup>a</sup> *Plutarch*, *Goe Cicero* (said he) *and ravish from us Greeks the only thing was left us to glory in, our wit and Eloquence, that thou mayest transfer it to the Romans, who have already bereft us of that reputation we once had in arms.*

He learnt in this voyage Astronomy, Geometry, the old and new Philosophy, also the heathen Divinity, and the lawes & customs of Athens, and all the rest of Greece. *Diodotus* taught him the mystery of *Pythagoras* his numbers, and his System of Musick. He studied the stoicks Moralls under *Philo* and *Clitomachus*. *Antiochus*, who in opposition to *Carneades* stood up against the new Academics, instructed him in the opinions

<sup>a</sup> *Plut. in the life of Cicero.*

and Cicero compar'd. 35

of the Ancients, and *Zeno* & *Phedrus* taught him those of *Epicurus*, which he since has so much blam'd in his writings. And at last after the death of *Sylla* he return'd to Rome, with a mind enrich'd w<sup>th</sup> all sorts of knowledg, and a body restored to a perfect health, by the exercise he had us'd abroad in his travells.

His friend *Pomponius Atticus*, and the other learn'd men of that age, with whom he kept a continuall correspondence, were no little helps to him in the acquisition of all these sciences, which it is hard to conceive how one man should understand, especially in such perfection as he did every one of them. But as Eloquence was that for which he had most inclination, so did he more carefully set himself to it then any of the rest, and neglected not the least thing, which might any way further him in it; and above all he took a speciall care, to form the mo-

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dulation of his voice, the aire of his face, his actions and gestures, which *Quintilian* calls the Eloquence of the body, as should most become him; and to that end he frequently consulted the famous Actor *Roscins*, that from him he might learn that admirable art of pronounciation, which many times puts a value upon the most ordinary trifles, and which is the very soule of all things that are to be spoke in Publick.

It was on this manner that this great soule flew at all: whereas *Demosthenes* whose desires after knowledg were more confin'd, applied himself wholly to the reading of *Thucydides*, (whom he made almost his whole study) that so he might get the style and way of writing of that Historian. And truly I wonder not that *Demosthenes* chose him as his pattern, seeing as yet nothing had been given to the world so perfect as the works of that Author. *Herodotus*

*dotus* indeed who went before him, has a more pleasing way of writing by reason of, the great variety of the things he treats of, and his gracefull manner of expressing them: for he not confining himself strictly to the truth, it was easier for him to affect, and please his readers, whereas the other on the contrary could not dispence with any thing which was opposite to it, but kept it as an inviolable law never to recede there from. Notwithstanding *Thucydides* though he design only to instruct us, is pleasant enough too: his narrations are plain and close, but cleare likewise and naturall, and that plainnesse hath alway's in it something sublime and noble, which always maintains it selfe by the propriety of the expressions. So that it was in imitation of *Thucydides*, that *Demosthenes* fram'd his stile, which that he might the more exa-

*Rerum gestarum prominciator sincerus Thucydides grandis etiam fuit. Cic. in Brut.*

Etly

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fly follow, he wrote his <sup>a</sup> Works eight times over with his own hand. Yet one may easily perceive by the severall different way's he takes in his Orations, that he had likewise search'd into other mens works, and that it had been his good fortune to hear *Plato*, with whom no body could converse without becoming wise. And the opinion of *Cicero*, *Plutarch*, and *Lucian* is not groundlesse, where they tell us, that through the meanes of a learn'd Sicilian call'd *Callias*, he came secretly to the sight of some of the works of *Isocrates* and *Alcidamas*, whom *Plutarch* highly esteems. But whether it were so or no <sup>b</sup>, tis agreed that *Cicero* was more happy then *Demosthenes*, both as to advantages of nature & education; that he likewise spent more time in the universall study of all sciences, both in reading *Plato*, *Ari-*

<sup>a</sup> *Luc. in Dem.*

<sup>b</sup> *Cura plus in illo, in hoc natura. Fab. l. 10. C. 1.*



*Astle*, and all that wrote after them, which had any relation to Eloquence, and also conversing with the most famous men of his time, whom he met with in his travels: and that consequently his abilities and knowledge were doubtlesse greater then those of *Demoſthenes*. This ability is the first part of that personall worth, which as we before observed, is so necessary to them, who would have any force in perswading; for the more understanding a man hath, the more are we inclin'd to beleive what he tells us.

## CHAP. V.

*Of the second quality requisite to perswading, with is Integrity.*

**T**He second part of personall worth is integrity, whose power in perswading is far greater then that of the former. For seeing those who  
are

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are perswaded to any thing by another, doe submit themselves to him that perswades, they will certainly much rather doe so to a man of known integrity, then to one suspected. The most mistrustful that are, have a deference to such; & the good opinion we have of a man, conduces to his being credited, whilst every one thinks the better of himself, for being of the same judgement with a vertuous person; which gave occasion to that excellent saying of *Aristotle*, *Among all those things, which make a man beleived, none has so much power as the manners of the speaker.*

These two Orators had acquir'd this vertue in so eminent a manner, by their good conduct in all their actions, that the people had a perfect belief of whatever they said. Their advice was hearken'd to as the most profitable; they were lookt upon as the Publick Oracles, and Tutelar *Genius's* of their country,

try, and that because every one was satisfied, that they never spoke, but to establish the authority of the laws, and to the advantage of the state. The truth is, they were both, persons of much honour and integrity, and the frequent mention they made of the Gods in their Orations, made them be esteem'd very pious and Religious, which has a great influence over the minds of the people, because it is a rule and measure to all other vertues.

And besides this, they prescrib'd themselves the use of such popular principles as refer'd to the publick good; and because they professed to aim at nothing, but the glory and advantage of their Country; they alway's found the minds of the people, ready dispos'd to give them a favorable attention, and that general esteem they had acquired gave them that authority, wherewith they spoke. This is what may be said of  
their

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their reputation in generall. I shall  
now proceed to discourse of what  
each of them had in particular.

C H A P. V I.

*Of the Integrity of Demosthenes.*

**D***emosthenes* was naturally inclin'd to justice, which he very much fortified by an exact morality & the advantage of a severe temper, so that he could not in the management of affairs, make use of those indirect way's which the greatest Politicians commonly practice. Justice, honour, and the Publick good, were alway's the considerations which most sway'd him in his proceedings. The Philosopher *Paretius* assures us, that in all Publick affaires his maxime was, that *a Convenient and Pleasurable good must yeeld to that which is honest.*

These his Moralls appear in all

*a Plut. in the life of Demosth.*

parts

and Cicero compar'd. 43

parts of his workes, but especially in his *Philippicks*, his *Olinthiacks*, in the Oration about priviledges, in that for *Aristocrates*, and in that of the Crowne; and if this last be well examin'd, one shall easily find, that his zeal for the Publick good, his submissive resignation to the people, and the devotion he seems to have for the good of the state, are that which makes up the beauty of the Oration, which may justly be term'd the most perfect antiquity ever boasted of, and which *Cicero* stiles the rule of Eloquence. In a word he neglected nothing that might acquire him the reputation of an upright man, wherein he succeeded by the frequent characters he made in his Orations of a good Patriot & Citizen, as it appears in his third *Olinthiack*. For in Publick actions, the more severe the discourses of Morality are, the better they are entertain'd. And in my opinion an Orator hath no such  
advanta-

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vantageous way of recommending himself, as by making a strict and severe profession of vertue.

But nothing did more contribute to the credit of *Demosthenes*, then the liberty he took of declaiming against *Philip*. Indeed what could be more glorious for a mean Citizen of *Athens*, then the courage he shew'd in declaring himself against a King, that had already the greater party in that Republique. Neither the power, the armies, the threats, or promises of that Prince could ever work upon him; and that I may use Plutarchs expression, <sup>a</sup> *the glittering of all the Macedonian gold could never dazzle him*. He was ever deaf to all the proffers were made to corrupt him, which gave occasion to *Antipater*, <sup>b</sup> one of *Alexanders* successors to say, *that if any of his Officers had been as uncorrupt as Demosthenes, he had*

<sup>a</sup> Μακεδόνων Χρυσίῳ ἀνάλωτος in vit Demosth.

<sup>b</sup> Lucian in his commendation of Demosth.

been

been invincible. That <sup>w<sup>ch</sup></sup> this Prince adds, does yet more perfectly represent the vertue of this great Orator; *It was the only love of his country, which made him undertake the Government of the State; & he made that the object of his vertue, which others doe of their interest. What would not I give, said he, for such a man, that I might be advis'd by him in my present affaires, and beare him who would freely speak his minde in the midst of the fawnings of flatterers? Such a sincere counsellour it is that I want to direct me amongst all these court dissimulations.* This Prince who had nothing of Alexander in him, but his boundless ambition thought he should soon have made himself master of the world, had he had so faithfull a Minister as *Demosthenes*, and that because <sup>a</sup> *he could neither be over-reacht corrupted nor surpris'd.* And indeed what was it he did not to gain

<sup>a</sup> *Lucian in the foremention'd place.*

him

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him? But *Demosthenes* out of a generosity not to be parallel'd, prefer'd without debating the case even death it self to all *Antipater's* favour: and swallowing the poison in the presence of *Archias*, who was urging him to yeeld himself up to the conquerour of all Greece, *Goe*, said he, *and tell thy master, that Demosthenes will in nothing be beholding to the Usurper of his country.* Such was the integrity of this great man, who was so remarkable an instance of Pagan vertue, as may farther appear by what *Lucian* has writ in his commendation.

CHAP. VII.

*The Integrity of Cicero.*

**T**He integrity of *Cicero* was no less valued at Rome, than that of *Demosthenes* had been at Athens, and to this reputation of his we may attribute the most remarkable passages of his life; for it is certain, that his Eloquence



quence alone with all its power, had never gain'd him the suffrages of the people to make him Consul, had it not bin back'd very powerfully by the opinion every one had of his integrity; which as it rais'd him to honour, so it likewise objected him to envy. *Clodius* was the first who could not endure the splendor of his vertue, and made his great reputation an instrument wherewith to destroy him: for seeing him so zealous for the publick good, he look'd upon him as a main obstacle to his wicked designs; to w<sup>ch</sup> purpose as soon as he was Tribune, he made use of all the authority and power of his office to get him banisht Rome: he spar'd no violence to procure his remove, whom he fear'd as a severe Censurer of his actions. One need only to read the Epistles *Tully* wrote to his brother, and the rest of his friends, to discover the sincerity of his sentiments, the disinterested thoughts of his heart, the upright-

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rightness of his principles, and his unfeign'd zeal for the good of his country. What resolution did he discover against the young Nobility of Rome, whom ambition and debauchery had engag'd in the conspiracy with *Cataline*? Those that find fault with him for boasting too much in his Orations, of this great action, by which he preserv'd the common wealth, have more reason to ascribe it, to the great love he had for his country, than to his vanity: for it is certain that without the constancy & resolution which he discover'd in the whole course of that business, Rome had been expos'd to the fury of the Conspirators, who to raise their fortunes, which were desperate in peaceful times, thought of nothing but embroyling the Common-wealth. Neither is there any reason to imagine that *Cicero* in declaring for *Pompey*, when Rome began to be divided into parties by that civil warr, did  
it

it with any other designs but what were vertuous, and tended to the publick good. For that party did not appear to be more powerful, but more just: and it lay in his own power to have made his advantage of the prof- fers *Cesar* made him by <sup>a</sup> *Trebatius*, if he would have accepted of a com- mand in his army; but he would not forsake the common-wealth: & we know that took *Pompey's* side.

What can those that accuse him of want of spirit, ascribe that courage to, <sup>wh</sup> he did evidently discover in his opposition to *Marc Antony*, whose ill intentions were sufficiently mani- fested, by that garland he presented *Cesar* with, at the solemnity of the *Lupercalia*? I believe *Brutus*, who was witness of that action, scarce knew what he did in saving *Antony's* life, when they destroy'd *Cesar*: for had he consented to his death as *Cassius*

<sup>a</sup> *Civilibus bellis neque spe neque metu declinatus Ciceronis animus, quo minus optimis partibus, id est Reipub. se jungeret, Quint. l. 2. c. 1.*

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desired, the Common-wealth had recover'd her liberty. However nothing is more clear than the zeal *Cicero* shew'd for his country against this ambitious man, who thought on nothing but how he might raise himself by unlawful wayes. Not that *Tully* did want means of being reconciled to him, and those much to his own advantage, if he could have resolv'd to play the Politician; but he had too much sence of his duty to have to do with those practices w<sup>ch</sup> ended in the ruin of the publick liberty. Neither had he ever thought of raising *Augustus*, had he not judg'd him a fit Person to oppose the design of *M. Antony*. And that Prince had so great an opinion of *Cicero's* concern for his country, that he gave a publick testimony of the esteem he had for him, and such a one as cannot be suspected, since it was made some time after his death. For having once surprized a young relation of his striving to  
hide

hide a certain book under his coat, he ask'd him what it was; the boy was unwilling to shew it, for fear of displeasing him, because it was Cicero's works, whom he had suffer'd to be proscrib'd not long before: But the Emperour having taken and read some passages in it, gave it him again saying, *Read this book carefully child, for the author of it was a very able man, and a great lover of his country.* And though out of a love to the Publick w<sup>ch</sup> this good man had imprinted in his heart, he much disaprov'd of *Julius Cesar's* designs upon the sovereign authority, however by insensible degrees usurp'd; and had sufficiently declar'd this dislike to his friends; yet *Brutus* and *Cassius* would not acquaint him with their purpose to dispatch him, not out of any suspicion they had of his fidelity, which they had no reason to doubt; but because they judg'd

Δόκιμος αὐτὸς καὶ φιλόπατρις. Plut. in Cicer.

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his good nature would never have consented to so violent a resolution.

It was not only on these publick occasions, in which vanity has often more share than integrity, that *Cicero* approved himself: he was no less exemplary honest in private concerns; for he was a perfect friend, a good father. He lov'd his children, and deserved more kindness from his wife, then she shew'd him in his disgrace. Nor was it so much for his Sons sake, though he tenderly lov'd him, that he compos'd that admirable treatise of Offices, as to give the publick an Idea of his Moralls, which were so little allied to any thing of interest. And the truth is, there was never any thing writ in that kind, that was more strickt, especially if it be considered that it was compos'd in a time when there was no other conscience known but honour. *Cicero* had likewise the art of ordering all he did so, as that it in some  
man-

manner serve his Eloquence, which is never so powerful as when conjoyned with reputation. <sup>a</sup> And seeing nothing is so likely to assure it us as a uniforme course of life, suited to the rank we hold in the world, and maintained with that constancy, which our condition requires, *Cicero* had made this an unviolable law, and a rule to all his actions: the neglect whereof, is the rock whereon most of those who profess to speak in publick are split; for they either do not apply themselves to the search of those things which become their condition, & according to w<sup>ch</sup> their life is to be conducted, or else when they have found it, they have not constancy enough to make it good. But though it be difficult to make our practice answer to the severity of our principles, yet *Cicero* minded nothing more, than to be the first who should practise what he taught to o-

<sup>a</sup> *Decorum nihil est profecto quam aequabilitas universae vitae tam singularum actionum. Cic. 1. Off.*

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thers, and maintain'd in all things,  
not only the dignity of his Place,  
but that evenness and constancy  
which is observable in the actions of  
vertuous men.

CHAP. VIII.

*Wherein the Integrity of these  
two Oratours was most assaul-  
ted.*

**D***Emosthenes* was in that more  
unhappy than he, for he gave  
his enemies leave to accuse him, and  
that not without some reason, of  
having receiv'd twenty talents, and  
a Golden peice of plate of great  
value, from an officer of *Alexan-  
der's*; who being in disgrace for  
not haing faithfully managed the  
King's revenues, had retir'd to  
Athens. This present made the peo-  
ple suspect the integrity of him that  
receiv'd it, because it came from one  
who



who had bin a creature of the declar'd enemy of their Commonwealth. Hereupon *Dinarchus* stirr'd up by the enemies of *Demosthenes*, accus'd him to the people of bribery; and such was his misfortune that they would not heare his justification; so the respect every body had for him, was chang'd into contempt; and after a tiresome inprisonment, he was shamefully banish'd his country. *Plutarch* who so much commends him on all other occasions, can find no means of justifying him in this, although <sup>a</sup> *Pausanias*, whom I had rather follow<sup>l</sup>, hath endeavoured to maintain his innocence, and make this accusation pass for a calummie. Not but that *Cicero* had the misfortune as well as he of being banish'd, but the cause of his exile was not so infamous; for though the Senate consented to it, yet was their consent forc'd by the violence of *Clodius* the Tribune, and the

<sup>a</sup> *Paus.* in Corinth.

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practices of *Piso* and *Gabinus*, whose Consulship became odious thereby, and was indeed nothing but an outrage and prostitution of laws. But that which *Cicero* resented most in his misfortune, & w<sup>ch</sup> he laid a little too much to heart, was not so much to see himself thereby laid aside from all publick employments, as that he was forsaken by his best friends, and chiefly by *Pompey* and *Cesar*, whom he most esteem'd, and who had always pretended a respect for him; and that so lively description of his grief, which he made on this occasion, was an effect rather of his tenderness of affection, than any resentment proceeding from ambition.

The truth is he was pittied by the people, and so was not the other, because his reputation was not so spotless; *Demosthenes* defended himself indeed against the temptations of the Macedonian gold offer'd by *Philip*, w<sup>ch</sup> was the Athenians sworn enemy, but

but could not resist the Persian, presented by *Darius* an Allie to the Common-wealth; whereas *Cicero* on the contrary maintain'd his integrity in a far higher degree, in refusing the presents and bribes both of friends and enemies; because he knew well that presents, from whomsoever they are sent, do make the fidelity of a publick person suspected; who ought never to think of measuring his duty by his interest. And on this account this great man, being Proconsul of Cilicia, refus'd the presents sent him by the Cappadocian King, & those of the Sicilians when he was Pretor of Sicily; though both the one and the other were the Romans allies. And his spirit was so great, that he thought he could not receive any thing from any body, without some-way submitting himself unto the donor. Neither can any great person, whose life and actions are always expos'd to publick view, be too scrupulous

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pulous in their conduct, or too curious in what concerns their duty, if they have a mind to preserve their reputation.

It is objected to *Cicero*, that having commended and praised *Cesar* so much in his publick Orations, he abus'd him so intollerably in some of his private letters, which was very un-  
 unhanfome, and a baseness not to be pardon'd. It is true that *Cicero* has spoke very differently of *Cesar*, in whom he observed both good and bad qualities, and therefore he commended the good, and blam'd the bad: neither did he ever mistake one for the other, but it was his prudence made him find fault in secret with what deserv'd it, and commend in publick what was praiseworthy. And when it shall be consider'd that it was only to save the lives of *Marcellus* and *Ligarius*, that he did so freely bestow his praises on *Cesar*, that alone will sufficiently vindicate him  
 in

in it. For what is it one would not doe to save ones freind? And it may be likewise lawful sometimes, to praise those that do not merit, if it be but to incite them thereby to deserving actions.

That which is objected against him about a house belonging to *Crassus* at the foot of the Mount Palatine, which he bought as was pretended with a summe of money presented him by a criminal call'd *Sylla*, to purchase his favour, has so little ground that it deserves not to be confuted; since *A. Gellius*, who relates the story, brings nothing to confirme, nor any circumstance which should make it seem probable.

That which *Brutus* reproaches him with in his letters, is much more specious. That man that intended so well, and with whom the remaining Liberty died, accuses him of having been the first that ador'd the young *Octavius*, and that he had indirectly con-

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contributed towards raising him up to the throne, from whence he had so lately cast down the former Usurper. Nevertheless if one will seriously reflect upon the condition of the state of that time, the factions wherewith it began to be then shaken, the ill intentions of *Marc Antony* and *Lepidus*, and finally the necessity there was of giving a Master to the people, who among so many different pretensions would no longer hear of any lawful authority, we shall find that *Cicero* did very prudently in striving to ruine all the parties that were then on foot, by raising this young man, into whom he hop'd he might put such principles, as might be for the good of the state; and also to regulate by his counsels, that authority he had given him: hoping he should always be hearkend to by him, who was so lately his crea-

*Non dominum fugisse sed amiciorem dominum quassisse videberis. Brut. ad Cicer.*

ture.

ture. So that if *Cicero* was faulty in this matter, it was only in confiding too much in the power he thought he might retain over the spirit of *Octavius*. But there is nothing in which great Persons are more mistaken, then in the presumption they have, of being able to turn & wind others which way they will.

This error might well be thought pardonable in *Cicero*, at such a time when he was in greater reputation then ever: for upon the new's of *Antony's* defeat, the people went and took him by force out of his house, and carried him in triumph to the Capitol, out of the belieif they had, that business had thriv'd only by his good counsells; and from that time he began to be look'd upon in Rome, as the upholder of the Common-wealth, & as the only person, in whom the authority of the state rested, being now disorder'd by the death of both

\* *Sustinuisse gloriatur bellum Antonii togatus Cicero noster. Brutus ad Aetium.*

the

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the Consuls which were kill'd at *Modena*. And it is certain, that at that time all things were done by his advice: and that never any private person was seen, who had so absolute an authority in his country. And had he not been very scrupulous in things that related to his duty, the Occasion might have tempted him, to set up for himself in so favourable a conjunction of affaires; when the weakness of all parties not yet form'd, the confusion that possess'd all mens minds, the esteem the Senate had of his worth, and the good will of the people, seem'd equally to conspire to raise him; so that if he could not have bin master himself, he might at least have rais'd whom he pleas'd; yet he did nothing but what he thought profitable for his fellow citizens, and becoming his own glory; and it may be it was out of too much care

*Nec in Tullio defuisse video in illa parte civis optimi voluntatem, testimonio est actus nobilissime consulatus, integerrime provincia administrata, repudiatus vigintis virgatus. Quint. l. 2. c. 1.*



and circumspection, that he gave occasion to those fatal conferences between *Lepidus*, *Octavius* and *Marc Anthony* at Modena, where soon after was contriv'd that bloody project of the Triumvirate, which cost the Senate more blood, then had been spilt on the plains of *Pharsalia*; the head of *Cicero* was the price of the reconciliation of *Octavius* to *Marc Anthony*; whilst he minding nothing but his own greatness, forgot both his benefactor, and the instructions he had given him; and sign'd his death, because that he well foresaw that his virtue would never yeild to an usurping Tyranny.

The success that *Cicero* had in his warlike expeditions in *Cilicia*, and on the banks of *Issus*, and neere the mountain *Amanus* against the *Parthians*, sufficiently declares that he had more courage then most learned men have imagin'd, and that he was more valiant even then *Demosthenes*,  
who

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who being once upon service in a small party at Cheronefus against the forces of *Philip*, and having on the first onset seen the first ranks fall, he was so terrify'd, that he betook himself to flight amongst the foremost, and was so distracted with fear, that he mistook a bush which caught hold of his coat for an enemy, and in that takeing cry'd out for quarter. But on the other side, he dy'd much more couragiously then *Cicero*, going to his death with a quiet compos'd countenance, and without much concern, whereas *Cicero* discover'd a great desire to avoid his. Not but that he is unjustly accus'd of cowardize, upon some letters of his to his brother *Quintus*, and his friend *Atticus*, wherein he betray'd too much weakness, and too freely layd open his thoughts to them, from whom he could hide nothing. But if we consider that there are many things that passe in the  
souls

and Cicero compar'd. 65

souls of the greatest men, which if we could look into, it would appeare that they have their weaknesse as well as others, and are not altogether insensible of misfortunes and dangers; and we should find that many times Heroes gain not their reputation so much by discovering their good qualities, as by the care they take to hide their bad ones, and to let no body dive into the secrets of their hearts. So that the little concern *Cicero* had to hide his failures, ought rather to be ascrib'd to his too great sincerity, then any meanness of spirit: neither is it a disclosing of our weakness, to impart it to a friend, but a representing and relating of it to ones self.

But as most things are interpreted, and that favourably enough according to their outward appearances, so the art of imposing upon o-

\* Caput Oratoris ut ipse apud quos agit talis qualem seipse optet videtur. 1. de Or.

F

there

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thers, and concealings ones self, passes for a great virtue amongst Politicians. This was not Cicero's way, who discover'd himself without reserve, and allways thought it becoming to appear in ones own shape without any disguise; and this he recommends as a precept to his Orator.

### CHAP. IX.

#### *Their other personal Qualities compar'd.*

HAVING taken notice of the difference that was to be found, both in the abilities and integrity of Demosthenes and Cicero; it should seem that nothing else that is remarkable could be added about their personall worth. But yet each of them had some other particular qualities, which however lesse essentiall to their Eloquence, did neverthelesse much contribute to the reputation they gain'd. The advantage which consists in the  
agrea-

and Cicero compar'd. 67

agreeableness of the Orators behaviour one would think should be the most inconsiderable; and yet we find it is important enough to him; and *Quintilian*, who forgets nothing which may conduce to his perfection, teaches that the care of his deportment is no small advantage towards gaining the favour of the Audience.

For if to perswade 'tis necessary that we please, we ought to take care to doe it in every thing; and it is especially requisite to have nothing that is disgusting in ones person. In this *Cicero* may be said to surpass *Demosthenes*; & it may be more than he needed; so that no comparison can be made between them in this case, without allowing *Demosthenes* a little more care of himself than he had, and *Cicero* a little less.

<sup>a</sup> *Mirè auditurum di Flori cura delectat, ipse iudex se componit. Instit. l. 2, C. 3.*

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For it is observ'd that *Tully* was very neat in his cloaths, and in all his dress even to affectation; that he lov'd perfumes, and a splendid table. And as he was very pleasant in conversation, so he delighted in company and feasting; he was very complaisant with his friends; his raillery was smart and neat; and he manag'd all business with such address, that in the most serious consultations, he would frequently mingle so much of light conversation, as might be sufficient to refresh the mind, without taking off the intention: and that was properly that Character of urbanity he instructs us how to acquire in his Treatise *de Oratore*. And though it be something difficult in these times, to judge of the wit of what he there proposes as examples of it; yet it is certain that he was very good at it; seeing *Cato* as grave and as much a Stoick as he was, after

*Phil. in his life.*

ha.

and Cicero compar'd. 69

having heard *Cicero* burlesk the Stoicks Morals, could not forbear laughing and saying, <sup>a</sup> *I must needs confess we have a very pleasant Consul.*

*Demoſthenes* had not this taking way in his converſation, and if at any time he ventur'd at it, he miſcarried therein, as *Longinus* obſerves; where he compares him with *Hyperides*; his behaviour alſo being more reſerv'd, made his diſcourſes fitter to be liſſen'd to, & to be receiv'd as oracles. But as this his ſerious humour made him prudent & circumſpect, ſo did it make him politick even in all his expences, in which he was guided by his ambition only, which was the end of all his actions. Thus he took pleaſure to lay out his mony in repairing the town-walls, in equipping of ſhips, in encouraging trade, in ransoming of ſlaves, in marrying of poor maids, in Publick ſports and ſhow's which he gave the people. And though

<sup>a</sup> *Muren Plut.* <sup>b</sup> *Lucian in his Elogy of Demost.*

this

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this did in some measure gain him affection, yet could he never condescend so farre, as to doe any of those things with that affability and popular air which is so necessary in a Commonwealth.

Not but that *Cicero* was likewise liberal, & that even to excess, but he took not altogether so much care to be so in those things which make so much noise; for all his expences were Lordlike, and proceeded more from his temper, then any Politick end he had in them. And by this means he deserv'd the name of magnificent, and liberal, though he sought it not, and was generally as much so on all occasions as *Demosthenes* was in some particular ones. He is reckon'd to have had eighteen country houses, all stately built, and splendidly furnish'd though he possess't them not all at the same time. The chief of these were, the

*Eland l. 19. Ram. triumph.*

*Tus.*



and Cicero compar'd. 71

*Tusculane*, the *Formian*, that at *Cajetta*, that at *Arpinas*, the *Pompeian*, and lastly that which he had at *Cumes*. Neither was it so much out of pride that he affected this Pomp (though it must be confess'd he was somewhat vain) as out of a height of spirit, which sought thereby the esteem of a people, w<sup>ch</sup> did not at all disrelish any thing that was sumptuous, so it were maintain'd by wealth honestly got. I thought it would not be superfluous here to take notice of this difference that was between them, though it have little relation to their Eloquence; because that it did however make this great man more considerable, in a state which had a regard to any great quality in its Citizens. To conclude, both of them had the skil of managing all things, which might any way conduce to recommend them to their best advantage: and their discreet conduct gain'd them so much  
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authority, that they seem'd to make themselves masters of their auditors hearts, and to command whatever they perswaded; and this was that which was most admirable in these two Orators. For whether it be look't upon as the peculiar gift of heaven, or as an effect of their personall desert, it is certain that never any two single persons, had ever a more absolute empire over two nations, that were more shie or Jealous of loosing their liberty. But that we may the better judge of them, we shall doe well to examine the second thing, which *Aristotle* tells us is necessary to the art of perswasion, which is to know how the minds of the audience stand affected,

CHAP.

## CHAP. X.

*That to perswade, it is necessary  
to consider the inclination, and  
disposition of the audience.*

**I**F it be true that Perswasion is a kind of conquest over the hearts of men, an Orator may fitly be compar'd to a General, & the minds of those he is to work upon, to a place assaulted by him; and as valour is not sufficient to make an attempt succesfull, without knowing the condition of the enemy; so neither is the Eloquence of the Orator sufficient to perswade, unlesse he first apply himself to find the humour, and genius, and the interests of those he is to work upon,

No body ever understood, or taught the way of gaining the minds of men by perswasion, so well as *Aristotle* in his books of *Rhetorick*:  
and

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and he is the only man, who knew how to search into that obscure place, the heart of man; who could fathom the depth of that abyſſe, and find out the clue that muſt guide us through thoſe many winding Meanders, that lead to it. Tis he we are beholding to for reaching us how to keep private intelligence in it, by the help of the paſſions, how ſometimes to attempt a ſurpriſe upon it by frights, to allure it with hopes, and winn it either by ſtirring up deſires, or kindling anger, and exciting in it all thoſe commotions, which are capable of gaining a party there for him that ſpeaks: but unleſſe we can diſcover how the ſoule ſtands affected, where ſhe is fortified, and where open, it is hard to exerciſe this art with any ſucceſſe. And though this Philoſopher be much to be admir'd throughout all his works, yet is he no where more, then in this part of them, where he has  
redu-

**and Cicero compar'd. 75**

reduced that which before was only a rude and confus'd masse of precepts, into principles and a clear science; his instructions about it being so infallible, that if they be follow'd, they cannot faile of bringing us to the propos'd end. It is then from that admirable book, and excellent Epitome of Moralls, that we must gather rules, whereby to see into and gain hearts. For unlesse we can find out and move the most hidden springs w<sup>ch</sup> turn and byass us, & sink into the bottom of the infirmities of humane nature, what impression can all the outward force of Eloquence make upon the soul?

The ordinary Declamers are farre from this perfection, who instead of studying the manners, inclinations, and humors of men, the foundations on which all perswasion must

*Nisi naturas hominum vimque omnem humanitatis  
Orator perspexerit dicendo quod vult perficere non  
poterit. Cic. de Orat. lib. 1.*

be

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be rais'd, employ themselves in ordering their words handsomly, and seek nothing but the ornaments and flourishes of speech, which make no impression upon the hearers, but are forgotten as soon as the speaker leaves off. Whereas the true Orator makes it his chiefe business, to understand the affections and interests of his audience, and finding what effect each passion produces in their hearts, makes use of that w<sup>ch</sup> may best suite with his purpose; he finds what naturally they are most prone to, and takes hold of them on that side they bend towards, that he may with more ease pull them after him: and this violence he does his Audience is carried with so much art, that they think they goe of their own accord, when the Orator drives them. But how few are there, who have this art of entring, and commanding mens hearts! The inconstancy and mutability of our inclinations and hu-

humours, the diversity of interests, the circumstances of time and place, and even chance it self, which has so great a share in this disposing of mens minds towards the bringing to passe of any great event, are things of so large an extent, that to be well understood, they require the perpetuall study and attention of an Orator, who must make use of all these methods when he proposes any thing in an Assembly, and designs to draw them over to his opinion.

But if the same men, in the same country, and in the same day, are many times in divers minds about the same thing; according as they are differently possess'd by severall passions; as <sup>a</sup> *Aristotle* hath well observ'd: how much more variable will the opinions of people of different climates be, whose laws, customs, manners, and humours, are so vastly different? And will it

<sup>a</sup> *Lib. 1. Rhet.*

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not be requisite, <sup>a</sup> that an Orator be able to discern all these varieties, and put on divers forms, as there is occasion, if he desire to be successful in persuading? Had not *Cicero* been much mistaken, if he had gone about to persuade the Greeks to any thing in the same manner as he us'd to do the Romans? And had not *Demosthenes* mist of his aim to think you, if he had undertook to gain the Romans by that vehement way where with the Greeks were pleas'd? But that we may the better judge of the divers kinds of Eloquence, which the different tempers of the people they had to deal with forc'd them to use, let us a little examine their humours and Genius.

<sup>a</sup> *Naturæ & variæ voluntates, multum inter se distantia effecerunt genera dicendi.* Cicero. de Orat.



## CHAP. XI.

*A character of the humours of the  
Greeks in Demosthenes  
his time.*

**T**He Grecians were so polite a people, that they lookt upon all other nations as clownish, and even barbarous. But of all the Greeks the Athenians were those who were most ingenious in all arts and sciences, and who did most relish Eloquence. Their country had bred so many great Orators, that by degrees the knowledg of handsome things, became almost naturall to them. *Pericles* whose discourse they compar'd to the thunder and lightning of their Olympian Jupiter, had so us'd them to hear nothing but what was elegant and clean, that those who were to speak in Publick, lookt

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lookt upon even the lower sort of people, as so many Censurers of what they were to say: and this their accurate judgment had introduc'd amongst them, <sup>a</sup> so curious and scrupulous a way of speaking in publick, that they dar'd not use in their Orations one word, which was not extremly proper, and authoris'd by frequent usage.

<sup>b</sup> But as the good language and eminent Eloquence of these Orators, had made them great Criticks, so had flatterie much encreas'd the naturall proud and fierce humour of this people, insomuch that an ordinary address was not sufficient to perswade those who would alway's be look'd upon as masters, and have a command over them that

<sup>a</sup> *Sincerum fuit sic eorum iudicium ut nihil possent vixi incorruptum audire & elegans; eorum religioni cum serviret Orator, nullum verbum insolens aut odiosum ponere audebat. Cic. de Orat.*

<sup>b</sup> *Glorie & Eloquentiae solius libidinosi. Tertull. Apol.*



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and Cicero compar'd. 81

pretended to perswade them. The law of Ostracisme, which was made upon occasion of the insupportable tyranny of *Pisistratus*, did much add to the haughtinesse of this arrogant people. This law was instituted by *Heraclides* to give a form of Government, w<sup>ch</sup> might exclude from publick affairs and banish for ten years those, whose credit and extraordinary merit might render them suspected: & therefore such who had rais'd themselves by the most lawfull and commendable means, were to carry themselves so, that their greatnesse might never give offence to the pride of this people; which could not endure any thing should grow too high, and out of their reach.

This law was so rigorously observ'd at first, that *Aristides*, who had acquir'd himself the Epithete of Just, and had done so much for the glory of his country, was condemn'd

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to be banish'd like a criminall, and that by an unknown abject contemptible fellow, who could not so much as write or read. And though this rigour was much abated in the time of *Alcibiades*, and almost quite abolish'd afterwards, as it happens to all laws that are too severe; yet it had left such an impression in the minds of the *Athenians*, such an aversion against any body that was extraordinarily eminent, and kept such an awe over all those that spoke in publick, that they were oblig'd to a great deale of caution and circumspection. And the lawes they tied them to, went so farre, as to forbid all such artificiall ornaments, as might in the least disguise the truth; and the stirring up any passion, which might surprise their reason: because they lookt upon the one, as a snare laid to catch their belief, and the other as an attempt made upon their liberty. And this  
render'd

render'd their discourses more cold and barren then otherwise they had been, w<sup>ch</sup> faults were produced more from the restraints that lay upon them, then any defect in their abilities. For if we bar Eloquence from the best ways of moving pitty in mens minds, we disarm her of her chiefest strength, and leave her nothing but only rough and violent passions to make use of, in which a vehement pronounciation does many times more, then all the cunning of art.

*Julius Pollux* observes, that there was also another law made by the *Areopagites*, against the use of prefaces & perorations in any criminal cases, because those parts of a discourse being most fit for Rhetoricall ornaments, and working on the affections, might give the Orators an opportunity of surprising, and shaking the resolution of the Judges. *Aristotle* in his Rhetorick,

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<sup>a</sup>and *Quintilian* in his institutions, doe at large explain the intention of that law: and it may be the Greeks had borrow'd this severity from the *Arabians*; since *Averroes* in his Comments upon the place where 'tis mention'd by *Aristotle*, tells us, that among them it was the custome to speak in publick without any action or gestures of a declaimer, least the Oratour should thereby impose on his audience. And though this was not strictly observ'd in *Demosthenes* his time, as it had been in *Solons*, yet one may easily see; that he had confin'd himself to the observation of that old custome; for his great fancy had otherwise doubtlesse furnish't him with more moving passages in the close of his Orations, which are never improv'd to the degree they otherwise

<sup>a</sup> Arist. C.1. Rhet. Quint. lib. 6. *Athenis affectus movere etiam per praeconem prohibebatur Orator.*

and Cicero compar'd. 85

might. At least <sup>a</sup> *Quintilian* imputes it to this law, which he pretends to have continued in force at *Athens* in the time of *Demosthenes*. However 'tis certain that this custome was very disadvantageous to him; <sup>b</sup> for unlesse Eloquence does employ and make use of all her forces to stir up or to calme the mind, she never can gain an Empire over the heart.

But the *Athenians* were not only proud, fiery, Jealous of their power, and severe towards their Orators, in that they allow'd them not to move pitty, nor work on the passions, which are the cheif things whereon depend the succeſſe of Eloquence; but besides all this, they were so impatient, so light and inconstant, that many times they

<sup>a</sup> *Epilogos illi mos civitatis abstulerat. lib. 10. c. 1.*

<sup>b</sup> *Omnis vis ratioque dicendi in eorum qui audiunt mentibus aut excitandis aut sedandis exquirenda. Cic. de Orat.*

*In quo uno regnat Oratio. Ibid.*

would

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would passe on a sudden from one resolution to a quite contrary, without any reason but only their Humour, whereby it became impossible to take any measures how to proceed with them. *Thucydides*, *Plutarch*, and *Polybius*, have left us in many places of their works, very lively descriptions of this their humour: but no body has better represented it, then *Cicero* in the Oration he made in defence of *Flaccus*, his successour in the Pretorship of *Asia*, who was accus'd of cheating the state. For he there imputes the many troubles, and finally the ruine of Greece, to nothing but the inconstancy of that turbulent and unquiet people, which would many times be rul'd by nothing but their own capricious humour, whose de-

<sup>a</sup> Thucyd. lib. 1. Hist.

<sup>b</sup> Plut. in Lycurg. Polyb. lib. 6. Hist.

<sup>c</sup> *Græcorum Respub. sedentis concionis temeritate administrantur.* Cic. pro Flac.



liberations were accompanied with so much tumult and confusion, that the most rash and impudent were generally those whose counsells were followed. A hand held up, or an outcry rais'd by some factious fellow, was frequently that which carried the thing in debate; and this doubtlesse was the reason that *Aristotle*, who takes most of his notions from the customs and manners of the Greeks, observes in his *Politics*, that the most pernicious kind of tyranny is that which proceeds from the immoderate unlimited power of the people, when they have the soveraigne authority in their hands.

And as we find that those who are most insolent when in power,

<sup>a</sup> *Græcia concidit libertate immoderata & concionum licentiâ. Ibid.*

<sup>b</sup> *Psaphismata declarata manu porrigenda & profundendo clamore multitudinis concitata. pro Flacco C. 5. lib. 4. Politic.*

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are always the most abject, poor spirited, and submissive when in subjection: thus the *Athenians*, who had been so imperious in their prosperity, became the most abject slaves to the successors of *Alexander*, and afterwards to the Romans, when they had masterd them. And indeed never any nation seem'd more born for servitude then they: for scarce had Rome extended its Empire beyond Italie, but it swarm'd with them, so that it gave occasion to <sup>a</sup> *Lucian*, who is always pleasant in his raillery, to say, that there was no worke for any body in great mens services at Rome but the *Athenians*.

<sup>b</sup> *Tacitus* uses them yet worse, for he reckons them in the same rank with the Asiaticks, who were then esteem'd, as generally the inhabitants

<sup>a</sup> *Demercede conductis.*

<sup>b</sup> *Timidi & imbelles, quales amana Græcia & deliciæ Orientis educunt.* Ann. 2.

and Cicero compar'd. 89

of beautifull and pleasant countries are, the most cowardly effeminate people in the world. All these things doe make it appear, that with their wit and inconstant lightnesse we just now mention'd, this people had at the bottome a great deal of baseness & cowardize ; which forced their Orators to condescend to their humours, when they design'd to perswade them. They were fain by turns to complement and terrify , to awe and flatter them in a breath ; and this was it which *Demoſthenes* knowing their temper manag'd with such successe.

It were neverthelesse very unjust, to include into this number all those of that nation , which have distinguish'd themselves from the rest, either by the glory of their actions, or the excellency of their writings. For 'tis well known , that from them we have deriv'd all manner of knowledge in the Arts & Sciences, as well as  
the

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the first precepts of honesty, civility and morality. But these great persons had many times so little share in the publick decrees, that the vertue, of which they have left behind them so many illustrious marks, ought not to be admitted as the generall Character of this people. Notwithstanding this small number of worthy men, we may with truth affirm, that no Oratour ever had to doe with more untractable spirits then *Demosthenes*, or built his Eloquence upon methods more unlikely to give it perfection.

CHAP. XII.

*The Character of the Romans in  
Cicero's time.*

**C***icero* found a far more spacious field, wherein to exercise his Genius. Rome was no more in his time, what

and Cicero compar'd.<sup>7</sup> 91

what it had been in that of the first Consuls, and the Decemviri, \* when their severe and hardly civiliz'd humours made all the vertues that they glory'd in, to consist in warre and handling of armes. She had by this time insensibly lost her former fiercenesse, by conversing with other nations, and by the care of *Scipio* the younger and *Lelius*, who began to introduce amongst them a more civill way of conversation, and make the people relish arts and ingenious things. *Terence* by the help of those two admirable persons, represented on the stage a pattern of civill life, by which he did so well refine their manners & understandings, that *Ennius* his old-fashion'd stuff, and *Pacuvius* his uncouth style, which they had before so admired, began to disgust them; so that they ventur'd even to criticize upon] the

\* *Qui bene pugnabat Romanam noverat artem* Ovid Fast.

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ill expressions of *Plautus*, whom before they had too patiently heard. All those great men who were famous from the time of *Terence*, unto that of *Cicero*, did contribute very much to polish and refine the nation: though it never devoted its self so entirely to those studies as the Grecians did. The truth is, this refining of the Roman wits did neither abate their haughtyness, nor make them lesse Jealous of their glory: but as the fierce humour of the Greeks proceeded from a principle of pride, so did that of the Romans from an excessse of courage. And this made *Cicero* say, that <sup>a</sup> other nations were fitly qualified for slaves, and were able to undergoe the yoake: but that the love of liberty, and that greatness of spirit which is requisite in those that are to command, was the proper chara-

<sup>a</sup> *Aliæ notiones servitutem pati possunt, Romani propria libertas est.* 6. Phil.

*Tu regere imperio populos* &c. 6. *Æneid.*

*Her of the Romans.* And the priviledge the Roman lawes allowed young persons of leaving their Estate by will to whom they would after the age of fourteen, contrary to the custome of other nations, does sufficiently evidence, that the love of liberty seem'd very just to them, since they made laws to authorise it. Pride was so odious to them, that they could not beare with it so much as in their masters. Fair methods and modesty were the surest means, that could be us'd by any one to recommend him. <sup>a</sup> And as they were wholly given to warre and laborious occupations, so they could not endure any of those vices which proceed from idlenesse, and which they never were infected with, till their frequent conversation with the Greeks after the taking of Corinth.

Their Oratours were likewise lesse

<sup>a</sup> *Suos agros studiose colentes.* Cic. pro Rosc.

con-

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confin'd in their Publick discourses,  
then were the Greeks. Those austere  
rules, which were so strictly observ'd  
at Athens, were not known at  
Rome, and unlesse it was the length  
of their Orations, which was stinted  
by *Pompey* in his first Consulship,  
there was no confinement set upon  
Eloquence, which might any way  
hinder her from using all her arts,  
and setting all those engines on  
worke, which may any way affect  
the hearers.

In fine as there reign'd in the  
commonwealth of Rome a certain  
*majestick aire of greatnesse*, which  
had in it something more sub-  
stantiall *then what was to be found at*  
*Athens*, as *Lucian* observes in his Cha-  
racters: and as the Romans *had na-*  
*turally* \* *a love for justice and ver-*  
*tue*, as *St. Austin* tels us; so were they  
not addicted to that levity of the

\* *Jus bonumque apud eos non legibus magis quam*  
*natura valebat.* De civit. dei cap. 12 lib. 18.

Athe-



Athenians, which gave their Orators so much trouble, that they knew not which way to deale with them. And in this *Demosthenes* had as much reason to complain of his bad, as *Cicero* had to rejoyce at his good fortune, seeing he had lighted upon a nation enclined to a passionate moving Eloquence, from which the Greeks receded as a thing forbidden by the lawes; so that the one might give his fancy a free liberty to employ the whole extent of his art in perswading; whereas the other, being confin'd within the narrow limits allow'd him by the lawes, was constrain'd to make all the art of his Eloquence consist in the force of his argumentation. And therefore though this very different way of speaking, gave *Cicero* many great advantages over *Demosthenes*: yet we cannot from thence infer that he deserv'd to be prefer'd before him. We must then examine, what that way  
of

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of speaking is which *Aristotle* makes  
the third thing necessary to perswa-  
sion, before we can determine which  
deserves the preheminance.

CAAP. XIII.

*Of the third thing necessary to  
perswasion which is the way of  
speaking we ought to use, and  
of the art of Eloquence in ge-  
nerall.*

**T**Hough the personal worth of  
the Orator, as well as the fa-  
vourable disposition of the Audience,  
are powerful instruments to prepare  
mens hearts for perswasion, yet the  
way of speaking makes up the grea-  
ter part of that impression, which Elo-  
quence produces in the minds of those  
it would effect. Perswasion in gene-  
ral is that admirable art, which makes  
se

so much noise in the schooles of Orators, and which all the Declamours make such fair promises of teaching, though they understand it not themselves. It is that wonderful secret of moving hearts, which Rhetorick hath so long sought after with its train of precepts, without being able to find it; and indeed it is much easier to be sensible of it, then to express it: for it is not the heaping together many tropes & figures, where with books are stuff'd, nor in the pompous ordering of many extraordinary and high flown thoughts, which surprize and dazle us with an empty splendour, in which this art of perswasion consists: for good sense, which always is most perswasive, has never so gawdy an outside. Let us then examine wherein this great secret consists.

That we may better clear this point, we must observe that the briskness of parts which we have

H from

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from nature, is likewise the chief ingredient of that Eloquence we seek after: so that the ground of it is indeed natural, as it is in all things which art is capable of improving; and therefore whosoever intends to be Eloquent, <sup>a</sup> must begin by studying himself, and examining whither he have any natural Genius, which if he have, he must carefully strive to cherish and improve it: & make it his guide in all his course of study: for without this caution, all the steps we make lead us out of our way, by <sup>b</sup> reason of our neglect in first seeking to find out, what nature had fitted us for.

The rule that we ought to follow in this our research is, first carefully and patiently to apply our selves to the seeking it, & then constant.

<sup>a</sup> *Intelligentis est videre, quo ferat natura suumque.* Brut.

<sup>b</sup> *In qua deliberatione ad suam cuiusque naturam consilium omne est revocandum.* Offic. l. 1.

ly to cultivate when we have discovered it. It is good allways to follow what we find our selves most inclin'd to, especially in the case we are now mentioning, if our inclinations are not absolutely bad. This is the first thing that *Cicero* advises us to in his rules about decency; because whatever is not natural is affected, and all affectation becomes a real fault: and this is so true, that we find the misbecoming air, which is so disgustful in all those who either go, speak, or do any thing affectedly, proceed's from its being forced, and unnatural. Every one ought to regulate himself by this maxime, for<sup>b</sup> nothing can become any body, which appeares to be forc'd; and whatever is natural in any one, doth certainly become him best. So that if we will be successeful in all we

<sup>a</sup> *Tuenda sunt sua cuique non vitiosa, sed propria.*  
Cic. Offic. 1.

<sup>b</sup> *Id maxime quemque decet, quod est cuiusque summa maxime.* Cic. Offic. 6.

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do, and even in the manner of life we take to, we ought never to endure any thing, that is not what it appears to be, that is any way strange, or disproportion'd to our natural inclination. For it is hardly credible; how much we injure our selves, by a servile imitation; and it is one of the most universal causes, why so few Oratours succeed, amongst so many who apply themselves to the study of Eloquence. For the most part of those who speak in publick, not being contented with their own small abilities, strive to imitate and take pattern by those, <sup>a</sup> they see succeed better than themselves; & this brings 'them into that inconvenience, wherewith *Cicero* threatens those who change their course, <sup>b</sup> *It is not possible, says he, that any one should ever be in a capacity of pleasing, when he*

<sup>a</sup> *Nihil decet invitâ Minervâ, id est, repugnante naturâ.*

<sup>2</sup> *Sic ut decorum conservare non possis si aliorum naturam imiteris, omittas tuam. Offic. 1.*

leaves the means which nature had given him, and borrows from others.

Cicero's way had doubtless never took, had it not been rais'd upon Demosthenes his bottom; and that pleasant aire which so became him, would never have suited with Demosthenes his more severe temper. But they both knew well, what fitted them best. This Genius and capacity is the chief of those natural qualities, which are absolutely necessary to Eloquence; upon which I have been more large than otherwise I should, because it is generally so little known or minded.

As for the other natural qualities, it will not be requisite I stay so long upon them. They consist in a deep understanding gain'd by a long exercise of prudence and discretion, whereby a good judgment is acquir'd; but this solidity will be defective, if it be not accompanied with a clear, even, and undisturb'd fancy. For let the understand-

derstanding be never so good, it will miscarry, if the imagination be not rightly dispos'd; for it is that active part which sets all on work, and thence it comes to be of such importance. The voice, & aire of the face, the gesture of the body, and all the outside, are other natural gifts requisite in an Oratour; the perfection of which consists, in having in every one such a becoming grace as does set off all our outward actions.

Learning and Art are not less necessary to Eloquence, but those are such qualities as may be acquir'd. As for the first it is certain no body can have any great share of Eloquence without it; which will prove but an empty sound, incapable of producing any effect, if it be not furnish'd with a good stock of all kind of knowledge. And it is for want of this, that the young man in the Satyrist, is so angry with the Declamers  
of



of his time, whom he taxes <sup>n</sup> with being the first corrupters of Eloquence, because they minded nothing but a certain specious flourishing way of speaking, which had in it nothing of solidity. *That was not the way*, says he, *which Homer, Pindar, Plato, Thucydides, Hyperides, and Demosthenes took to become Eloquent.*

His indignation at this so great an error, was much encreas'd, when a certain grave Doctor, to appease him, told him, that this disorder proceeded from the professors of Rhetorick, who to allure young men, did amuse them about the outside of words, which imposes on them, and pleases none but those who are ignorant: and that the parents were likewise in fault, who by ill education, & too early setting their children to study, do render them incapable of great things, whilst they pretend to

<sup>x</sup> *Pace vestra dixisse liceat, primi eloquentiam perdidistis. Sat.*

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make excellent Oratours of them, that can hardly speak plain; and after all, he concludes in these words, which would loose all their beauty and grace, should I translate them: *Quod si paterentur laborum gradus fieri, ut studiosi juvenes lectione severa mitigarentur, ut sapientiae praeceptis animos componerent, ut verba atroci stylo effoderent, ut quod vellent imitari, diu audirent, sibi que nihil esset magnificum, quod pueris placeret; illa grandis oratio subiret majestatis suae pondus.*

<sup>a</sup> This so rational discourse, does in general shew the path we must tread, to arrive at that supreme degree of Eloquence which gains admiration. And it is certain, that we cannot pretend to any thing in it that is great and substantial, unless we do first get a stock of large conceptions, by filling our mind with all those I-

<sup>a</sup> *Nemo poterit esse omni laude cumulatus Orator, nisi erit omnium magnarum rerum & artium scientiam consecutus. 1. de Oratore.*

deas

deas which the knowledge of sciences can supply us with. This is the ordinary defect of those superficial Oratours, who think to make amends for the weakness of their fancy by the strength of their expressions, and who distinguish themselves from others by clothing pittiful ordinary matter in great strong lines. This is in short what may in brief be said of those abilities which are so absolutely necessary for those who would deserve any place among Oratours.

It remains that we say something of Art, which though it be a large subject to discourse of, yet I shall not fully examine, least I should oblige my self to write a whole treatise of Eloquence, when my subject only requires I should make some draughts that are most necessary for the comparison I designe; though even this be difficult enough to do. For who is able to determine precisely in what the supreme perfection of this Art consists

consists? Is it in the great and lofty, or else the strong and forcible way of expression? in close and concise, or in pompous full discourse? Is it the frequent use of figures, or a plain style that constitutes Eloquence? Is it the art of *Protagoras* and *Thrasymachus*, who boast in *Plato* that they can persuade to what they please, or the natural plainness of *Socrates* who does really persuade without bragging of it?

The more we search into this matter, the more difficult we find it; when we reflect on that piece of *Cicero's*, wherein he does so admirably enlarge himself upon the Punishment of parricides, and which so took with the People, though that Orator himself, when he grew more in years, esteem'd it but as one of his first juvenile Essays. The truth is, there is in it something that seems forced

\* *Quantis illa clamoribus adolescentuli diximus de supplicio parricidarum? Quid tam commune quam spiritus viri?* &c. Orat.

and

and studied for; he discovers in it too much of art, which has something of the young man in it. How then should we make a particular discovery herein, if we stay to reflect on all those things wherein Eloquence consists not? It will be sufficient to our purpose, if we can find that which is most real and essential to it, to which end it may be enough to establish some general maxime, according to w<sup>ch</sup> we may frame such an Idea of Eloquence, as may agree with all the worlds conceptions of it; concerning w<sup>ch</sup> these are my sentiments.

The most essential part of all things, especially of those which are to please, is a certain grace in the doing of them, which is the ground and original of the pleasure they raise in us. It is a principle and general rule which <sup>a</sup> *Roscio*, who taught *Cicero* to pronounce, did often put him in mind of, and which he afterward

<sup>a</sup> *Quod ipsi Roscio saepe aucho dicere, Caput artis dicere. De Orat. lib. 1.*

appli-

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appli'd to Eloquence, that the most essential part of this art, consists in knowing how to find what becomes us. But what that is he <sup>a</sup> says. can neither be express'd, nor taught. Yet he does something towards the explaining what it is, in his Offices; where talking of the decency that ought to be observ'd in all duties, which is the foundation of it, he says, <sup>b</sup> It is nothing but a suitableness of our words or actions, to the circumstances of time, place, occasions, and persons. Which is so true, that Hortensius his way of speaking in publick, which tock so much when he was young, <sup>c</sup> ceas'd to doe so when he grew older, and that because it was no more suitable to his age.

<sup>d</sup> And it is for this very reason, that

<sup>a</sup> Quod tamen istum tradi arte non potest.

<sup>b</sup> Decet quod aptum est personis, temporibus, etatibus. Offic. 1.

<sup>c</sup> Cum id quod quaque personâ dignum est & fit & tur

<sup>d</sup> Manebat idem non decebat idem. Cic. in Brut.

<sup>e</sup> Is erit eloquens qui ad quodcumque decebit poterit accommodare orationem. Cic. Orat.

Cicero

and Cicero compar'd. 109

Cicero in the description he makes of a true Oratour, <sup>a</sup> says, that no body will ever be so, but those who are able to discern what becomes them, and have the art to practice it. There is nothing more difficult or seldomer found than this art, as he himself confesses. Without it one can never please, and with it one can never fail says <sup>b</sup> Quintilian. For that disposes of all things as they ought to be, that is in their own proper rank and place, from which proceeds that admirable order, not only of words, but also of conceptions, which is always so pleasing and satisfactory. And the chief perfection of this art, is not so much in finding ornaments for the discourse, as in disposing of them in their places; as that of the Painters is to cast the light, and place the objects in a just

<sup>a</sup> *Quero quem probem probabo eum qui quod deceat videbit. Ibid.*

*Nihil tam difficile quam quid deceat videre. Ibid.*

<sup>b</sup> *Nihil potest placere quod non decet.*

propor-

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proportion of height from the level. This was *Cesars* and *Antony's* great talent, as *Cicero* tells us in his Oration, one of which could marshal the parts of his discourse, as a General does his troops; and the other, dispose of them as a Painter does the objects in his Picture. This order thus observ'd, is no small advance towards pleasing; for nothing does so much disgust, as the disproportion there appears between the parts of a discourse when the words & arguments are not placed in a convenient order. Besides this ranking of the parts where they do most naturally fall in, w<sup>ch</sup> is that w<sup>ch</sup> makes up a decorum; there is likewise a certain secret grace in the pleasing manner of urging any thing, which is more unexplicable, and as necessary to Eloquence as the former, for we persuade only so much as we are able to please. This gift proceeds from a natural happiness which some have in setting



**And Cicero compar'd. III**

setting off their thoughts in the most taking aire. For a discourse may have a due proportion between its parts, may have its ornaments, & many beauties, and yet not please; because the things in it are not set off with that unexpressible air, which is so taking and charming. We finde a great deale of difference, between prettiness, and exact beauty.

But what is this admirable air which makes all the Oratour says be kindly admitted into our minds. and which produces such strange effects in Eloquence? *Cicero* would fain tell us what it is, but cannot; we must return to the former principle we have establish'd, which is *Caput artis decere*. One may be taught to speak well, but no precepts can be found capable of teaching this most proper becoming way, wherein all things must be deliver'd. Happy he that has it, for in that consists all natural Eloquence,

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quence, which is very differing from the artificial.

\* The second principle which constitutes this art, is thinking well and soberly upon the subject of our discourse, and in this always to consult good sense, the least grain of which is of more worth, then all the superficial lustre the ornaments of Rhetorick can supply. This prudence, which is the foundation of all Eloquence, as *Cicero* tells us, includes a solid judgment, and a clear discerning faculty, to make us invent what in it self is good, and then expresse it well. There is nothing of more importance to this Art then this, for whatever is sense is alway Eloquent, and whatever is not so, be it never so elegant, can never be brought to be perswasive.

Besides this gift of pleasing by

\* *Dicere nemo bene potest nisi qui prudenter intelligit.*  
Cic. Or.

decency

decency and solidity of sence which is so requisite to Eloquence, there is also a certain conduct by which the Orator must be guided; and this I make the third principle, which consists in making as much use as one will of all the art of Rhetorick, so the art be not too apparent; for nothing can please when one may discover it was design'd to doe so; and we can never charme, when it is plainly seen we aime at nothing else. *Demosithenes* himself, as great an Orator as he was, is never lesse taking, then when he strives to be so: for art can never be succesfull, unlesse it be disguis'd. All things are good used with this precaution, and yet it is a rule which we find observed but by few, because it is difficult to goe about to please without seeming to design it, and to seem carelesse when most concernd.

*Eloquentiam qui consecuti sunt, quia lingua suspensa est.*

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The last thing that ought to be observ'd, is an exact proportion of the discourse to the subject, so that we neither speake of what is great and lofty in a low style, nor on the contrary cloathe ordinary matter in high flown elevated expressions. There is nothing that is more offensive to any person of judgment, then this disproportion, which is so ordinary a fault with young writers, who doe many times inconsideratly fly higher then they ought when their subject is mean, and are not able to reach high enough when the matter requires it. The precept of the Orator must be carefully observ'd, <sup>a</sup> *Quanta ad rem tanta ad orationem fiat accessio.* This rule ought likewise to extend it self to the persons to whom we addresse our selves. For it is above all things requisite to proportion our discourse to the apprehensions of our audience; we

ought

<sup>a</sup> Cic. Orat.

and *Cicero* compar'd. 115

ought to speak otherwise before understanding persons then the ignorant & unlearn'd, even as *Cicero* & *Demosthenes* have shewn us the way. According to these rules and maxims we have fixt upon, we may now examine the Eloquence of both these great men, and compare their Characters, that so we may observe how they differ'd in their severall ways, and accordingly determine which of them is most likely to persuade.

#### CHAP. XIV.

##### *A Character of Demosthenes his Eloquence.*

**D***emosthenes* was of a cholerick melancholy temper; the heaviness which proceeded from his melancholy, made him obstinately persevere in any thing he had under-

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dertaken, and his choler inspir'd him with vigour and all abilities necessary to bring it to perfection. Though this his temper made him something peevish and crosse, yet did it endue him with that serious humour, which so much conduc'd to the great reputation he at length obtained. For it was partly from this temper that his great severity of manners, which gain'd him the name of so vertuous a person in his country, proceeded; as also that courage he shew'd, in declaring himself so openly against *Phillip* and his Son that Conquered the world. And though the power of these two Princes, had made them terrible to all Greece; yet *Demosthenes* us'd them at such a rate, as never any King was by a private person, who had no authority but that of his reputation, nor weapon but his tongue.

He had likewise from nature, a  
great

great and sublime Genius for all kind of sciences, and spirit enough, to be able to surmount all the obstacles he found in his endeavours to become learn'd. After having replenish'd his mind with that knowledge that was necessary to his profession, he made use of a certain Player whom *Photius* calls *Neoptolemus*, to teach him to pronounce well. *Quintilian* calls him *Andronicus*, and *Plutarch*, *Satyrus*; which makes it seem probable, that being so passionatly desirous of succeeding in it, he made use of divers masters, that he might not be wanting in any thing which he could so easily allow himself. This *Satyrus*, who understood his art very well, made him begin, as *Plutarch* tels us, with rehearsing some of *Sophocles*, and *Euripides* his Poems, but after he had done, this Player repeated them again with so much life and grace, that they seem'd quite another

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another thing. Whereupon he began to apprehend how very requisite a good pronounciation is to an Orator, since the same thing only diversly pronounc'd had seem'd so strangely different to him.

Thus by the help of these masters, this young man found encouragement enough from his naturall faculty's that way to make him resolve upon addicting himself to pronounciation, as the chief art wherein his Eloquence would consist. And indeed he added to his naturall vehemency such lively exterior actions, that it was impossible to hear him, without feeling at the bottom of ones soule sensible effects of his action. <sup>a</sup> *Valerius Maximus* tells us, he had a marvelous piercing sparkling eye, and that

<sup>a</sup> *Lib.8. cap.10.*

*In actione dominatur vultus: hic est sæpe pro omnibus verbis.*

*In ipso vultu sæpe valent oculi per quos animus emanat. Fab. lib. 11, Cap. 3.*

sub.



he made good use of that naturall advantage, to expresse diversly in his face such motions as his subject did require; but above all to make him seem terrible and dreadfull, when it was requisite he should so. He let his voice fall so properly where it ought, gave his words such a tone, and a gracefull aire to all his action, that it made every one that heard admire him; so that Action was almost the chief quality, wherein his Eloquence consisted: and <sup>a</sup> he himself us'd to say, it was the first, second, and third part of it, meaning that it was all in all to pronounce well what one had to say; and that <sup>b</sup> *all things are to be esteem'd according to the manner they are deliver'd.* But nothing can better make us apprehend the great advantage De-

<sup>a</sup> Pronunciationi palmam dedit Demosthenes. Just. lib. 11. Cap. 3.

<sup>b</sup> Omnia perinde sunt ut aguntur. Cic. de Orat. l. 1.

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*mosthenes* had over other men in this art of pronouncing, then the suffrage of his greatest adversarie in the case. For *Eschines* having been cast in the suit he undertook against *Ctesiphon*, whom *Demosthenes* had defended, and having retir'd himself to *Rhodes*, to avoide the shame and allay the grief it had caus'd him, some of his friends desir'd him to repeate to them the Oration he had made against *Ctesiphon*, w<sup>ch</sup> when he had willingly, done they desir'd him likewise to let them see that w<sup>ch</sup> *Demosthenes* had made against him, he read it to them very distinctly, whereupon they all began to admire it, <sup>a</sup> *but what would you have done* said he, *had you heard him speake it himself?* intimating thereby the excellent way he had of pronouncing.

Besides this his action, which gave a life to all he said, he did im-

<sup>a</sup> *Magis admiremini si ipsum audissetis* l. de Orat.

prove

prove all he had to say with proper expressions, lively descriptions, touching passages, and representati-  
ons, that affected and made strong impressions in the mind. In fine, all his discourse was<sup>a</sup> full of expressive figures, of those frequent apostrophe's, and reiterated interrogations, which adde so much vigour, and doe so animate a discourse, as *Longinus* observes. So that one may truly affirm, that never any Orator 'rais'd his anger, hatred, indignation, and all his passions to that height as did *Demosthenes*. And that doubtlesse was the reason, that *Demetrius Phalerius* say's, that he pronounc'd as if he had been inspir'd, and *Eratoſthenes* in *Plutarch* says, that he spoke like an *Enthusiaſt*. For he was as it were inflamed, whilst he spoke, by the heat of his action, and the violent transport of his Imagination.

<sup>a</sup> Συμπληρωματικὸν πρὸς τὸν Δεμόστρενον. Phot. in Demost. sect. 17.

What

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What shall I say of that sharp style wherewith he stirr'd up the minds of all the Common-wealth against *Philip*, without any regard of his quality? of his invectives wherein he fell upon *Midias*, to render him odious, and obnoxious to publick hatred? of those passages where he is so transported against *Eschines*, in the Oration for *Ctesiphon*? and of all those frequent invocations of the Gods? those Apostrophes to the Sun and stars? of those oaths by Heaven and earth, by the fountains and rivers, according to the maxims of his Religion? of those strange forc'd figures, and other violent passions, all his discourses so abound with? To all which, he added a pronounciation, and tone of his voice, more thundring then that of *Pericles* whom he had taken for his pattern. And this his vehement action, joyn'd to that of his expression, are the things which chief-

and Cicero compar'd. 123

chiefly make up the Character of that powerfull Eloquence, unto which no body besides him ever arriv'd, as *Longinus* assures us, and of which *Quintilian* in his Institutions has left us so fair a description, where he say's, that *Demosthenes* made what impression he pleas'd upon those that heard him, <sup>a</sup> either in inspiring them with his own sentiments and passions, or in raising and exalting those they already were possess'd with, by making them sensible of all his ardour, and in stirring up in them either anger, envy, or indignation, against the subjects he discours'd of, and that this was the chief art wherein his Eloquence consisted.

He had also a particular talent, in representing things exactly with all their circumstances, which is

<sup>a</sup> Aut qui non est, aut majorem qui est, faciat affectionem: hæc est illa rebus indignis, asperis, invidiosis vim addens oratio: quæ præter alios valuit plurimum *Demosthenes*, l. 6. c. 2.

of

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of no small moment to work beliefe  
in the people, to whom all things  
seem much more probable from cir-  
cumstances. And he had so exquisite  
an art of describing all things na-  
turally, that the meerest fables as  
he related them, would perswade  
much more, by reason of that  
plain naturall way he deliver'd them  
in, then the most solid truth alledg'd  
by another; and these kind of repre-  
sentations taken from the nature of  
the things, were very succesfull to  
him.

We are told by \* *Dionysius Hali-  
carnasseus*, that his Eloquence was  
likewise very subtile and artificiall;  
he could turn and winde about,  
and follow the most untroden paths,  
to come the more surely to his pro-  
posed end. And thus in the Oration  
about the fleet, that was to be set  
out against the King of Persia, by  
representing to the people the

x Cap. de figur. causis.

diffi.

difficulty's they would find, if they went about such an enterprise, without engaging all Greece in the same designe; he makes the thing appear so difficult, as he represents it, that though he seems to perswade them to it, yet he dissuades them from it in reality as he at first design'd. And in the same manner, when he intended to blame the carelesnesse and cowardise of the *Athenians*, he did it \* by representing to them the valour and brave deeds of their Ancestours.

\* *Quintilian* in his sixth book of Institutions, explains this expedient, which this Oratour made use of, to surprise his auditours, and of which he had the first hint from *Thucydides*, in the examples of *Nicias* and *Archidamus*. *Ulpian* observes, that there were but few

<sup>a</sup> Ut objurgaret populi segnitiam majorum, laude uti maluit. *Quint. l. 6. cap. 6.*

<sup>b</sup> Ut meliora probantes pejoribus permitteret. *Ibid.*

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examples of any artifice of this nature in his time.

And this it was doubtlesse, which gave *Hermogenes* occasion to say in his first book of *Idea's*, that *Demosthenes* was very skilfull in concealing this method. Which *Ulpian* does also more expressely tells us, in the perface before the *Olinthiackes*. *Dionysius Halicarnasseus* especially commends the excellent ordering of his discourse, which he marshals with so much art, that he alway's puts every thing in its most proper place. But though he was very happy in alledging & establishing his own arguments, yet was he infinitely more so in confuting those of his adversaries, by the strength of his *Enthymem's*, which were so celebrated by all antiquity. And he never seemed greater nor more wonderfull, then when he was most powerfully opposed; as we may see in the *Oration for Ctesiphon*, the successe of which was the



the more esteem'd of, by reason of the worth of *Eschines*, his adversary. Never was any business pursued by two Orators with more eagerness, nor undertook with more preparation; for both of them employ'd above four years in it. <sup>a</sup> This animosity which was heard of throughout all Greece, brought together a great concourse of auditors from all parts to assist at this decision, and to see a tryall of skill between these two great men, which became so famous by their emulation.

But as his vehemence was the chief quality in his Eloquence, so *Photius* assures us, that those Orations he made to the people had much more of it in them, than those he made to the Senate; for whatever is great & noble in Eloquence, becomes most so when deliver'd to a great assembly. It is true

<sup>a</sup> *Ad quod judicium concursus dicitur à totâ Græciâ factus. Quid enim tam visendum quam summorum Oratorum in gravissimâ causâ accuratâ & inimicitis incensa contentio? Cic. de opt. gen. Orat.*

that

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that the credit he had gain'd in his Country by the integrity of his intentions, did authorize him to allow himself any thing, & to take a great liberty of speaking to this people, who needed to be put in mind of their duty. The sharpnesse and anger of this Oratour, did not at all displease them, when they found they needed to be waked out of that *Lethargy*, into which their naturall negligence and Idlenesse had plunged them: and *Demosthenes* that he might the more securely master this sort of people, which truly was proud, but withall cowardly, alway's made a great shew of his zeale for the good of the state upon all occasions. They had us'd themselves to endure patiently his invectives and reproaches, by reason of the fruit they had often reaped from his good counfills; and he himself knew very well, that somtimes it is very requisite to seem angry and severe,

that

that he may be useful thereby to his auditors.

There was neverthelesse in all this austere kind of Eloquence very much solid & judicious reason, which had in it nothing that was either superficial or weak; and his reproaches how severe soever, were always taken in good part, because he back't them with such weighty reasons and arguments as were irresistible. His language was ordinary, having nothing farre fetch'd or sought for in it, and yet it was very pure, and conformable to that criticall palate, that reign'd then at Athens; but he had the art of putting into that language, as plain as it was, and into all his words, all the life and vigour that he pleas'd by the vehemence of his action. And now that we may the better come to judge of the value of this his Eloquence, we shall doe well to examine what effects it produc'd.

## CHAP. XV.

*The Effects of Demosthenes's Eloquence, and the commendations the ancients have given it.*

**T**HOUGH learned men have strove who should speak most in his commendation yet nothing seems comparable to what *Lucian* sayes in the case, who commends this Oratour by the mouth of *Alexander's* successor. *Had it not been for Demosthenes, say's K. Antipater, I had taken Athens with lesse trouble then Thebes, but he was every where to oppose my designe: he could by no means be surpris'd, but was alone more formidable, then whole fleets, and armies. What would he have done had he had the command of numerous Forces, or the disposing of the publick*

publick revenues, since we found it so difficult to bear up only against the power of his words?

King Philip reflecting on the power this great man would have got, and how terrible he would have been, if he had had any war-like command, seeing the thunder of his Eloquence was alone so dreadful, say's in the same place, *Let no body any more say the Athenians are my enemies, for I know none I have but Demosthenes, it is he alone that wages warre with me, who brings to naught and opposes my designs, and frustrates all my enterprises.* And indeed it was his Eloquence alone joyn'd all Greece in a League against the Macedonians; it was that which made the *Thebans* enter into the league, though they were before engaged to *Philip*; and this he did notwithstanding that Prince had sent thither two of his greatest statesmen, viz. *Amintas*, and *Clarchus*,

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to maintain his interest there, and to  
oppose the designs of *Demosthenes*,  
who was there as envoy from the *A-*  
*thenians*.

So that this incomparable person  
gave that Prince more trouble  
with the only power of his office,  
then did the *Pyreum* with all its Gal-  
leys, or all the united forces of  
Greece with all their Commanders.  
Nay his fame was so great, that as  
soon as it was known that he was  
to speake publicly, <sup>a</sup> all the people  
flock't from all the neighboring  
parts to hear him. *Dionysius Hali-*  
*carnassens* confesses, <sup>b</sup> that whenever  
he read one of *Demosthenes's* Orations,  
he found himself so strangely mov'd  
that he was no more himself, but was  
absolutely captivated by that author.  
He fully resented all his hatreds, angers,  
compassions, indignations and hopes,

<sup>a</sup> Ut concursus ex totâ Graciâ fierent cum *De-*  
*mostenes* dicturus esset. Cic. de claris Orat.

<sup>b</sup> Epist. ad Am.

and all that he sayd made the same impression upon him, as the mystery's of the Goddesse Cybele did upon her Priests. I confesse I do not wonder that this learn'd man was so moved and affected when he read *Demosthenes*, for as he himself was of a very penetrating judgement, so he did easily comprehend and see into the reasons, and all the sentiment of this Orator, and by a kind of sympathy was affected with them as with his own thoughts. And there is no body but will find the same effects from reading *Demosthenes*, if he doe it with the same attention and preparation of mind, as did that Oratour, for we are certainly touch'd with every thing he say's, if we be fitly dispos'd.

One need only take the pains to read *Plutarch* upon the life of *Demosthenes*, to see the strange effects of his Eloquence. But after I had read that, nothing seem'd to me so  
glori-

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glorious for this great man, as what *Quintilian* say's of him, viz: <sup>a</sup> that it was the Eloquence of *Demosthenes* which made *Cicero* what he was. And what *Cicero* himself confesses, <sup>b</sup> that he strives to follow, but cannot reach him.

I mention not the advantage, which *Demosthenes* got over *Pytho* the Orator, and cheif Minister of *Philip*, whom *Diodorus Siculus* commends so much. I likewise passe over the successe he had against *Hyperides* and *Phocion* so admir'd by *Plutarch*: and will now set down, some of the *Elogium*'s learn'd men have given this incomparable Orator.

*Eratosthenes* in *Plutarch* say's, there is something divine in *Demosthenes* his Eloquence. *Leosthenes* in *Lucian* assures us, that the discourse of *Demosthenes*, was the only one which

<sup>a</sup> *Cicer. quantus est magna ex parte fecit. l. 10. c. 1. Inst.*

<sup>b</sup> *Demosthenem imitamur, quid aliud agimus? et non assequimur. Brut.*



*seem'd to him to have life in it. Theophrastus being demanded what he thought of Demosth. his Eloquence, answer'd, it was far better then Athens deserv'd. Polyuctes the great Spectian Oratour, who had a share in the management of the state affairs, and liv'd in Theophrastus his time, does give it as his opinion, that Demosthenes was the greatest of Orators. Aristotle in Lucian presenting this great man to Alexander, assures him, that the greatnesse of his Eloquence, made him admire him above all others. Alexander the great call'd him the most powerfull Orator of all the rest in perswading, and he said, that his Eloquence had enchantment in it, because he perswaded to what he would. Menedemus in Cicero, say's of him, that he had the art of affecting mens minds, and doing what he pleas'd with them.*

*Demetrius acknowledges that Demosthenes, when he spoke, seem'd to*

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to be inspir'd. *Hermogenes* in his Ideas, that the way of speaking of this Orator came nearest perfection of any. *Dionysius Halicarnassens*, that he outdid in Eloquence all his predecessors, successors, and Contemporaries. *Suidas* that he was wonderfully powerfull, in expressing what he had premeditated. *Cicero* where he seeks a perfect Orator, in the description he makes of him declares, that no example of him can be found but in *Demosthenes*. *Valerius Maximus* assures us, that his name alone makes one apprehend all that is great in Eloquence. *Longinus* styles his Eloquence, naturally great, and brought to perfection. *Plutarch* and *Quintilian* have said more of it then all the rest; and *Ausonius* in his Epistles to *Symmachus* say's, that never any besides did arrive to the strength of *Demosthenes* his reasoning.

These Elogiums may be opposed to the invectives of *Juvenal* and *Sidonius*, who have dared to reproach  
De.

*Demosthenes* with the obscurity of his birth; as if the faculties of the soule, and naturall abilities, depended upon the circumstances where-with a man comes into the world. I shall not stand upon the commendations that are given him by modern writers, but I cannot omit what one of the most considerable hath said of him, viz: *a that no body can thoroughly understand the art he shew'd in his Enthymems and argumentations, but according to the proficiency they have in learning, and the knowledge they have in Rhetorick.* I should never make an end, should I pursue this subject; that which hath bin said may suffice to acquaint us with his extraordinary merit, and give us an estimate of his worth.

<sup>a</sup> *Erasmus in his preface to Demosthenes.*

## CHAP. XVI.

*The Character of Cicero's  
Eloquence.*

**N**Ever had any one a more happy birth for Eloquence, nor which was accompani'd with more signall circumstances then *Cicero*. He had a Father that was a person of very Good Quality, and was born in the most flourishing State, in the most knowing age, amonga people of the most refined manners, and in a time famous for the number of great Wits then flourishing. Nature which for the most part does bring forth her productions at all adventures, without any choise of materialls, or other design then to go on in her old tract, did not keep to her principles in what concern'd him, for she never was more favorable to any one, that was design'd

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sign'd for a perfect accomplish'd Orator. She began with giving him a body endued with all those graces could make him lovely, and with filling his mind with all those great naturall gifts that were fit to make him a very extraordinary person. His melancholy, which according to *Aristotle*, is the most ordinary temper of great wits, had nothing in it that was dull or heavy; and which is very unusuall, there was never any one person master of so much solid reason, and so much brisk gayety at once as he.

He had a great soul and a deep judgment, a plain, and sober, but rich and fruitfull fancy, a tender heart, an affecting aire, and taking delivery, a handsome face, a good voice, a good address, & a very pleasing presence. *Plutarch* assures us that he was so pretty a youth, that his school-fellows fathers took pleasure to see him, where he went to School.

That

That vast extent of learning and stock of knowledge, wherewith he so carefully replenish'd his mind in so many years he spent, and voyages he undertook, gave a weightiness and authority to all he proposed, and made him speak with the greatest solidity that one can imagine. And in truth without this ground worke of knowledge, Eloquence would be but an empty kind of chat, and a confused medly fit for nothing but to make a noise.

Besides this solidity which included so much sence and prudence, he had a certain grace and sprightlinesse of wit, which made him able to embellish all he said, so that nothing came into his fancy, but he set it off with the most pleasant dresse, and the most lively and naturall touches that could be imagined. Whatever he treated of, whether it was the most abstruse questions of Logick, the most barren

and Cicero compar'd. 141

ren parts of naturall *Philosophy*, the most crabbed difficult cases in law, or whatsoever else is troublesome and difficult; all this I say when it chanc'd to be the subject of his discourse, did participate of those airy touches of wit, which were so naturall to him, for we must needs acknowledge that never any body had the gift of writing at once so judiciously, and so pleasantly as he.

He does well represent his own Character, in that he makes of *Crassus*, whom he brings in as the most accomplisht Oratour of his time: he had, saith he, *much gravity in his discourse, but it was free, pleasant, and gentle: he was elegant without affectation, had a popular aire, but yet maintained by his gracefull manner of expressing himself.* The truth is he did not amiss in preferring him to all others, whom he there looks upon as the most exact model of Eloquence.

\* *Crasso nihil status fieri posse perfectius. In Brut.*

And

And that is the reason, why in his books *de Oratore* he delivers his own sentiments altogether through the mouth of *Crassus*, and speaks for the most part in his person, so to give greater weight to what he delivers, and the more to authorise his opinions. And as his knowledge was universal, so did he write equally well upon all subjects, which is the greatest and surest signe of the excellency of his Genius, which having no limits, was capable of succeeding in whatsoever he tooke to. And that is also one of the chief commendations *Cicero* gives his *Crassus*. There are also many other things to be said of him, if one would descend to particulars, but that would be endlesse.

But after all, the chief perfection of his Eloquence was his admirable talent of affecting the heart upon

<sup>b</sup> *Versatus in omni genere causarum Cic. in Brut.*

<sup>c</sup> *Tullium habemus in omnibus dicendi generibus eminentissimum. Inst. lib. 10. C. 9.*



pathetick subjects, by that wonderfull art of moving the passions, the ground of which he had from nature, and which he so well improved by his constant studying of *Aristotles* Rhetorick: for tis in that the power of Eloquence may most display it self, by the great motions, and violent impressions, she makes on the heart in stirring the passions. *Cicero* was master of this part of Eloquence in so eminent a degree, that in cases of great importance, in which divers Oratours were employed in the chusing of parts and subjects, he had always allotted him those in which one might be the most pathetickall, because he was happier at that then any body else. And *Brutus* himself said, that though *Hortensius* was so well qualified for Eloquence, as to vie with *Cicero*, or at least to be opposed to him in important causes, yet

*Hoc est quod dominatur in judiciis hac eloquentiam regunt Quint. lib. 6. cap. 2.*

when

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when they speak together upon the same subject, he did willingly yeild him the making of the conclusion, because it was *Ciceros* chief talent to affect, and make impressions upon the minds of the Judges by the turns of his Eloquence. And in this he was so succesfull that many times he would force sighs and tears from the assistants at the bar. These strange effects proceeded from a singular art he had of insinuating himself through the mind to the heart, and of sowing there the seeds that produced these soft motions, by the force of his argumentations, that so he might therewith shake the resolutions of all he spoke to.

He arrived to this perfection, chiefly by his naturall temper; for he had a very tender soule, and a soft passionate aire in all he did: and besides his gracefull delivery and his excellent pronounciation

● *Ut plangore & lamentatione forum compleverimus.*

gave

gave him a very easy admittance into the hearts of his audience, who finding themselves surpris'd by so many charms, were not able to make any resistance. But to all these naturall beauties, he also added infinite artificiall ones throughout his whole discourse, by an Eloquence enrich'd with all the Figures and ornaments of speech; which last was one of the most eminent parts of his Character: for never had any one in any language so fluent a tongue, or so much command of words.

Plainnesse back'd with a great deal of sence, & upheld by an aire becoming the dignity of the subject, is in my opinion the soveraign perfection of discourse. I find in the expressions of the ancients, who are our truest patterns, a threefold plainnesse, in *Cesar* a naked bare plainnesse, in *Petronius* an affected one, and the third in *Cicero*, who chose a mean between those two, which

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made up his Character as to expression, and in my opinion is far beyond either of the other. *Cesar* is too plain, *Petronius* is not enough so, and *Cicero* is as he should be; for avoiding the barrenness of *Cesar*, and *Petronius* his affectation, he does mingle ornaments among those things which will beare them, and cuts them off from those that deserve them not, without ever raising himself above his subject, as men of shallow parts, and those who are any thing inclin'd to the puerile way, use to doe. So that the plainnesse of *Cicero's* discourse is more or lesse according as the subject requires.

His metaphors are neither too dazling, nor too bold; but the way of his discourse is alway's easy and naturall; his connexions are never forc'd nor sought for, all his figures and ornaments are disposed in their proper places; his thoughts are great, and it is hard to determine,

mine, whether he was more happy in chusing, or expressing them: for he never wants in his expression any thing that is requisite either to please or affect his audience.

CH A H. XVII.

*The effects and commendations of Cicero's Eloquence.*

**W**E need not then wonder that so accomplish'd an Eloquence produced such wonderfull effects; for it was that alone, which without any other accessory help but the vertue of this Oratour, raised him from a man that was of no note, and whose ancestors had not bore any offices in state, to the highest of all greatnesse, and made him master of the world. It was that by which he deserved the most glorious title, that any private person could

*Omnia incrementa sibi debuit vir novitatis nobilitatis. Velh. Pater.*

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hope for ; which all the conquerours that went before him could never obtain : for he was call'd the father of his country, which is the most fit title that can be to satisfie the ambition of a soveraigne , who has a soule great enough to be sensible of the inexpressible satisfaction there is in having a soveraignty over mens minds and reigning over his peoples hearts. Lastly it was this his Eloquence which triumph'd over *Cesar*, even then when he came from conquering *Pompey* , and when he began to ascend the throne and be master of the world.

For *Cicero* being now come over to *Cesar's* party , undertooke the defence of his friend *Q. Ligarius* , who was accus'd of having born armes against *Cesar* , notwithstanding the great obligations he had to doe the contrary. *Cesar* who had already

*Primus omnium pater patriæ appellatus. Plin. hist. l. 7. c. 30*

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and Cicero compar'd. 149

condemn'd him in his heart, had yet a mind to hear *Cicero*, whom he had not heard a great while by reason of his long absence & business in the war newly ended, and therefore answer'd some of his friends, who would have dissuaded him from it, *What matter is it? let us hear him, but yet it shall be neither here nor there for that: for I have already taken my resolution.* But this Oratour spoke so stoutly for the defence of his friend, that he affected *Cesar* notwithstanding his former resolution to the contrary. And *Cicero* having mention'd something that happen'd in the battel of *Pharsalia*, *Cesar* found himself all over strangely mov'd, so that, as if he had been enchanted, he let fall some papers he had in his hand. In fine he could not resist such powerful charms, nor that subtle artifice he used in commending him; & though he had taken a firm re-

*Plut. in Cicero.*

soluti-

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Resolution before hand of not being overcome by the Eloquence of this powerfull Orator, yet was he at last forc'd by it to forgive *Ligarius*.

I mention not the same favour *Cicero* obtain'd for King *Dejotarus*, and for his friend *Marcellus*, of the same Emperour, who was so resolute and hard to be perswaded to any thing. One need but look in the Comments which *Tho. Freigius* has very methodically made on *Ciceros* Orations for the particular success of every one of them, to know thereby the effects of his Eloquence, which I shall not stand upon, that I may say something of what he did in *Catilines* business, which got him so much reputation, both upon the account of the importance of the Conspiracy, and the persons that were engag'd in it.

*L. Sergius Catiline* was a Roman of great quality, but of a very dan-

*Nihil soles oblivisci nisi injurias. Pro Lig.*

gerous



gerous spirit, by reason of his being endu'd with some very great virtues, but more and greater vices. He had large thoughts and designs, he was daring, of a great spirit, of a strong and vigorous constitution of body; he was temperate, watchfull, alway's in action, and never cast down by his ill fortune, close and dissembling, but openly affecting to seem free and candid, subtle without seeming so, and doing nothing without design. He was liberall of what ever he had even to prodigality, and insatiably coveting all that he had not. He had acquir'd himself an Eloquence fit to please malecontents and mutineers, and to maintain and put the best face on wicked practises. He likewise knew how by engaging his person to promote his enterprizes; which he might have pursued farther, had he had conduct enough to overcome and weary out the obstinacy of

of his ill fortune. For never was any body more brave and daring, and yet more unfortunate then *Catiline*.

An enemy of this importance, having engaged all the most considerable and most hot headed youth of Rome on his side, started up against *Cicero*, at a time when *Pompey* was busied in a long and troublesome war against the Kings of *Pontus* and *Armenia*. So that Rome was then unprovided of forces, and exhausted of her wealth, by the luxury that then reign'd, and most peoples minds and affections, whom *Sylla's Dictatorship* had lately shaken and disturbed, were yet unsetled.

In so crosse a conjuncture of affaires, this seditious fellow, having found all *Tuscany*, and a great part of *Lombardy*, easily inclinable to revolt, appeared a Candidate for the Consulship: and this his demand was back'd by the credit

dit and name of *Cesar*, who had been engag'd in this designe the more to authorise them. They were likewise maintain'd by many other persons of quality, who declar'd themselves more openly then *Cesar*, for he so well knew how to behave himself in these kind of busineses, which for the most part are very hazardous, that he never engag'd, but when he saw so many already declar'd, as tooke away all possibility of danger to himself whatever happen'd; so that though he had a share in most of the ill practises against the state which happen'd in his time, yet he chose his side so wisely, that he never was expos'd to danger in any; and this made *Cato* say, *That of all those who had plotted against the state, Cesar was the only man that came sober to destroy the commonwealth.*

*Unum ex omnibus Caesarem ad evertendum Remp. sobrium accessisse, Sueton. Jul. Cæs.*

*Cicero*

*Cicero* had nothing to oppose to so horrid a conspiracy, but the power of his Eloquence; and yet he brought it to nought without any other assistance but that of his resolution. For having himself made *Lentulus* and *Cethegus*, the two chiefs of the conspiracy that were to be found, be carried to prison; he caus'd them to be beheaded in his sight. The people was so wonder-struck at so bold an action, that by the advice of *Catulus*, who was then speaker of the senate, and of *Cato*, they decreed him such publick honours as before had no precedent. And it was on this occasion that *Cicero*, by the unfeign'd zeale for his country and unshaken courage, deserved that glorious name of *his Countryes father*, which was since the proudest title wherewith the vanity of all the Emperours suffered themselves to be flatter'd by the base fawnings of the slavish people. After  
so

so brave an action, upheld by the strength of his Eloquence, the whole party was so discouraged and disturbed, that *Catiline* was fain to fly from Rome, the people beginning now to be inflamed with indignation against him.

And it was this glorious action, for which Rome was more beholding to this her Consul, in that he delivered her from so great a danger, then to *Romulus* for building her; seeing her being first founded was a thing of meer chance, but her preservation in such a time, was an effect of a most prudent and generous conduct.

The war which the republicque waged against *Marc Antony*, who by reason of his consulship had grasp'd the whole government of the state into his own hands, and the raising of young *Octavius*, were as wonder-

*Non tantam urbem fecit Romulus, quantam Cicero servavit. Tit. Liv. in Sen. Decl.*

full

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full effects of *Cicero's* Eloquence, as was the preservation of the state from the ruin it was threatned with by *Catilines* conspiracy.

And indeed in that this Oratour did even more then he himself intended, for he designed nothing in raising *Octavius*, but the destruction of *Antony*. But the elogium which he made of him and his vertues, put him so far into the peoples favour, that it immediatly rais'd him higher then ever *Antony* had been; and that advantage over *Pompey* which cost *Cesar* so much blood in the Plaines of *Pharsalia*, was not so great as that which *Cicero's* Eloquence alone gave *Octavius* over *Antony*. For this young man had so much discretion, as to make use of his nomination of him for Consull, and of the Publick employments he put him upon, as of so many steps by which he ascended the throne of the Empire; which *Cesar* did so diffi-

difficultly bring to passe, with all the most experienced Roman Legions, and with the Forces of the greatest part of the world which he commanded.

The renown of this his Eloquence was so great, when *Bestia* and *Mettellus* were tribunes, that both of them did what they could to hinder *Cicero* from ever speaking in Publick, because of the too great power he had in perswading: in which he was like him who is mentioned by *Seneca* in his declamations, vwho always commanded the assent of those he spoke to as soon as ever he opened his mouth.

I shall not here stand to transcribe at length all learn'd mens judgments upon this Oratours Eloquence, which would be very tedious, seeing there are none but have signalis'd themselves by the praises they have given this great man. But I can not omit the

<sup>a</sup> *Rerum potiebatur cum loquebatur ad populum.*

suffrages

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suffrages of the two first *Cesar's*, and  
 some others, which are too confi-  
 derable to be past by. *Julius Cesar*  
 said, as *Quintilian* reports, that  
*Cicero* had triumphed of *ner* by ver-  
 tue of his Eloquence, when all the rest  
 of the Romans put together by their  
 arms. *Augustus* in *Plutarch*, say's he  
 was a very great Orator. *Asinius*  
*Pollio*, who made himself so famous,  
 by the great love he had for learning  
 and learned men, beleeves, that  
 "nature and fortune had taken a pride  
 in jointly being favorable to the *Geni-*  
*us* and *Iudustry* of this admirable Ora-  
 tour. *Hortensius* assures us, that *Ci-*  
*cero's* chief talent, was in moving his  
 hearers hearts, which is the great-  
 est commendations can be given an  
 Orator. *Aufidius Bassus* say's, his  
 Eloquence was so extraordinary  
 that <sup>b</sup> he seem'd born for the safety and

<sup>a</sup> *Hujus ingenio atque industrie superba natura pa-*  
*riter & fortuna obsecuta est.*

<sup>b</sup> *Vir natus ad Reip. salutem.*



preservation of the Commonwealth. Titus Livius in a fragment of his, which we find in Seneca's Declamations, say's, that never any body had made himself so much admired by his Eloquence as Cicero; that he was happy both in his works, and the recompence he gained for them. Paterculus, that <sup>a</sup> no body could be excellently Eloquent unlesse he had been conversant with Cicero. Pliny the Historian, that <sup>b</sup> no body is to be compared to him. Quintilian amongst many other commendations of him, which his books are full of, declares, that this great man was a gift sent down from heaven, in whom Eloquence takes pleasure to display all her power, and to unfold all her wealth, and that it is a shame not to yeeld ones self when he goes about to perswade.

<sup>a</sup> Delectari ante eum paucissimis, mirari vero neminem possis, nisi aut ab illo visum aut qui illum viderit. Hist. l. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Extra omnem aliam ingenii positus. Hist. nat.

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I mention not that famous Epigramme which *Catullus* made in praise of *Cicero's* Eloquence, nor what *Juvenal* say's in his commendation in his eighth satyre, *Martiall* in the third and fifth books of his Epigram's, *Cornelius severus* in his Poem, *Pliny* the younger in his Epistles, *St. Jerome* in the Epistle to *Nepotian*, and many other places of his works, where he confesses what a great esteem he has for *Cicero*; *Aurelius Victor*, *Cassiodorus*, and a multitude of other great persons, who have done themselves much honour in the Commendations they give of him. This is what I had to say in particular of the different Characters of the Eloquence of *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*; I come now to the comparison between these two Characters, which is the main design of this discourse.

CHAP. XVIII.

*A comparison of the Characters  
of the two Orators.*

**B**Efore we decide any thing, that we may reconcile those who have declar'd themselves for either of these two great Orators, we shall doe well to lay down one undeniable maxime, which is, that though every thing have but one Metaphysicall truth, yet it may have divers degrees of perfection and goodnesse, which may consist in very different qualifications; and this may sufficiently authorise mens severall relishes, and justifie their various judgments of them. For every perfection may have in its kind a great extent of differing degrees, but the truth of it cannot, which being a perfect conformity of our ap-

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prehension to the object, must of necessity be still one and the same.

But if this maxime be true in other things, it is much more so in Eloquence, which requires so great a number of different qualities to make her perfect. And this doubtlesse was the reason, why *Cicero* makes *Brutus* observe, that though *Cotta* and *Sulpitius* were both perfect Orators, yet their talents were very differing. For *Sulpitius's* excellency, consisted in the force and vehemence of his discourse, whereas that of *Cotta* was his sweetnesse and gracefulnesse; whereupon *Brutus* speaking of them, cry's out, *O the admirable art of Eloquence which has so great an extent of perfection! For Cotta and Sulpitius were both of them perfect in their way, though each of them wanted some very conside-*

<sup>a</sup> *O magnam inquit artem, siquidem istis cum summi essent Oratores duæ res maximæ altera alteri defuit. Brut.*

table

and Cicero compar'd. 163

able qualifications. And this makes Cicero confesse, that <sup>a</sup> there may be two accomplish'd and perfect Orators, though they be of very different Characters. Because there are <sup>b</sup> in Eloquence, as all other things, beauties of very different kinds.

So that according to this principle, we may judge between *Demosthenes* and *Cicero* without preferring either of them before the other: and compare their excellencies without diminishing either's reputation; seeing they had each of them in their way arrived to sovereign perfection. I shall therefore now lay down the differences, which may be found in the comparison of these two great persons.

As for Invention, which is the chiefest of the naturall qualities that are necessary to an Orator, it

<sup>a</sup> *In oratoribus possunt esse summi qui inter se dissimiles sint. Ibid.*

<sup>b</sup> *In aliis dignitas oris, in aliis repustas. Ibid.*

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is difficult to say which of them had most, since they both were possess'd of it in so vast an elevated, & extraordinary manner: but as the fancy is that which gives the invention those delightfull slight touches which doe most beautifie it, *Cicero* having had a more pleasant and taking fancy, had consequently a more neat Invention. Their Judgments seem to have been equally solid; there is nothing to be found in them, that is either deceitfull or faltring; all is substantial and rais'd on good grounds, and they both have strictly observ'd that precept of *Aristotle* in his Rhetorick, which teaches that perswasion is effected only *by the naturall bringing in of the most ordinary things*. And these ordinary things are order'd by them both in such an excellent manner as can admit of no exceptions.

Their expressions are proper and neat, and have nothing in them that is

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exquisite or studied for, though *Demosthenes* by reason of the copiousness of the Greek tongue does allow himself to be more bold then *Cicero*, who keeps closer to the purity of his language. His expressions shew more his modesty and the respect he had for the Latine tongue, and *Demosthenes* is more lofty and elegant: but *Cicero's* softness hath nothing of effeminate in it, as *Seneca* observes. Both of them are equally admirable in the Lofty way, and in that elevated discourse, which *Longinus* treats of, and which he calls <sup>b</sup> *the Image of a great soule.*

Their thoughts and expressions are alway's strong and full, having nothing in them either that is to low or cold; and are alway's accompanied by a majestick aire, which does so much distinguish them from all other Orators.

<sup>a</sup> *Sine in famia mollis.*

<sup>b</sup> *αἰνέσις μεγάλου φροσύνης. cap. 9.*

But

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But as *Cicero's* Genius was more universall then *Demosthenes's* and his learning of a greater extent, so had he the advantage over him of leaving no kind of Eloquence unpractised, and wherein he had not exercised himself, as I observ'd before.

*Demosthenes* had confined himself to the businesse of the state and the bar only, that is to the Judiciary and deliberative parts of Eloquence, and hardly medled with the Demonstrative; for the Commendation of *Chabrias* the Generall in the Oration against *Leptinus*, is mean and weake, in comparison of that which, *Cicero* made of *Pompey*, in the Oration for the Manilian Law. *Libanius* does also pretend, that the funerall Oration upon those who were kill'd at *Cheronea*, which is among *Demosthenes* works, is not his, because the style of it is too low. He affirms the same of that of love, because it is too soft and unlike his  
ordi-



ordinary style. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* is also of the same mind, who likewise observes, that *Demosthenes's* periods are very round and harmonious, and of a very regular number, in which *Cicero* comes not behind him in my opinion.

<sup>a</sup> The design of the discourse, the order, arguments, divisions, and all things that any way depend upon the invention, are much alike in these Orators, and that because they both imitated no other pattern in these things but nature, which is that we must regulate our selves by in all these parts, if we would succeed; and as they both worked in that upon the same ground, so have they little differed in it. Not but that in *Cicero's* argumentations, his Logick seems more exact and lesse intricate then that of *Demosthenes*.

<sup>a</sup> *Quorum virtutes plerasque arbitror similes, consilium, ordinem, præparandi, dividendi, probandi rationem, omnia denique quæ sunt inventionis. Quint. l. 10. cap. 1.*

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It is also probable that the art of syllogizing, which *Cicero* had so carefully learn't in *Aristotles* Logick, was not so much in use in *Demosthenes* his time, whose argumentations being only plain *Enthymem's*, were more naturall, and agreeable to his vehement pressing way; 'as that art of deducing particular consequences from universall principles, which *Aristotle* reduced into a method, and which *Thomas Freigius* has so well pickt out of *Cicero*, is much more insinuating, and suitable to his manner of writing.

After all these things which were common to both these Orators, these are the chief differences we can find between them. *Demosthenes* is more passionate then *Cicero* and more grave, he sets upon his businesse resolutely, and pursues things roughly, without having any respect of persons, no not though they be Princes. He lays all *Philipps*  
pra-

practices open, as soon as he is got into his office, without any regard either to his person or Crown; nay he does as it were degrade him and strip him of all his honours, to treat him like a private person, and calls him *the fellow of Macedonia*. He likewise delights sometimes, out of a morall austerity which was naturall to him, to pull down the pride and haughtyness of the *Athenians*, who were so jealous of their authority. And as his choler and peevish humour were visible in all he said, so did he give himself up so much to the impetuous current of his temper, that it was but very seldome that he was coole and without passion when he spoke. *His discourse is likewise rough and harsh, and is never smooth or moderate.* But Cicero is much more master of himself and all his passions, he

*Riget ejus oratio, nihil in ea placidum, nihil lenè. Sen. Cent.*

more

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more gently manages his auditours minds, and regards whom he speaks to, he has nothing that is harsh or surly, is pleasant even in his anger and indignation, and has the art of pleasing still whatever he speaks of. It was he indeed that first made the Romans sensible of the pleasures of Eloquence, as *Plutarch* observes in his life, and who knew how to make that be thought pleasant, which is honest.

*Demosthenes* finds out in all the reasons he thinks on, all that is in them either of solid or substantial, and has the art of representing it in its full strength, but *Cicero*, besides this solidity, which never escapes him, does likewise lay hold on all it has in it of pleasing and taking, and never fails of his aime in the pursuit of it. The torrent of *Demosthenes*'s discourse is so violent and rapid, his argumentations so close, and many, his whole manner

ner

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ner of writing has it in a height so like that of<sup>a</sup> craggy rocks and precipices, as *Longinus* expresses it, that it is difficult to follow, and keep pace with him; whereas *Cicero* carries his auditours along with him, or makes them goe before him; he turns and winds the minds of his hearers, and touches their hearts so, that they guesse before hand what he has next to say, and in a manner prevent him. And when he first begins to speake of any thing, they find which way he is going by the address he has, to lett them know from whence he comes; so well he knew all the springs and turnings of mens hearts, and in that his great art and chief masterpiece consisted.

Thus that we may distinguish the Characters of these two Orators by their reall differences, one may affirm ( me thinks ) that *Demosthenes*, by the impetuousefness of his temper,

<sup>a</sup> Εἰ ὕφη τὸ πλεονεξία.

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the force of his arguments , and the vehemence of his pronuunciation , was more pressing and forcible then *Cicero* , as *Cicero* by his soft and gentle way , his smorth insinuating passionate touches , and all his naturall graces , did more affect and moove. The former struck the mind by the force of his expression , and the ardent violence of his declaming ; the latter made his way to the heart ; by certain pleasing imperceptible charms , which were naturall to him , and to which he had added all the art Eloquence was capable of. One dazled the mind by the splendor of his lightning , and surpris'd the soule by the mediation of the amiazed understanding , but the other by his pleasing and taking passages , would slip into the very heart , & had a way of insinuating himself into , and making use of the interests , inclinations , passions and opinions of those he spoke to.

And

And it is in this difference, I imagine, that may be found the explanation of that passage of <sup>b</sup> *Longinus* in his comparison between *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, a fragment of which is come to our hands, and which it would not be easy to apprehend without the light we have from this observation. For at first dash that similitude of lightning which he mak's use of to expresse the Eloquence of *Demosthenes*, and that of a great fire to which he compares *Cicero's*, form's no very distinct Idea of the difference betwen their Characters. One would think that he meant only that the Eloquence both of the one and the other, was so powerful that nothing can withstand it. *The Eloquence of Demosth.* says he, is a whirlwind and clap of thunder, that overturns all things, and that of *Cicero* like a great fire, which devoures all things. So that violent and Impetuous make up the Character of

<sup>b</sup> Cap. 10. *de* *ψυχη*.

*De.*

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*Demosthenes* his Eloquence, and the progresse of a great fire, which consumes all that withstands it by degrees, together with the heat and insinuating power of fire, are the chief qualiryes of *Cicero's*. The Grecian break's out like Thunder, the Roman warms and enflames like a great fire. And therefore *Longinus* adds, that *Demosthenes* succeeded alwaies when it was requisite to strike terrour into the hearers, and to worke upon them by strong representations and violent motions. But when it was necessary to goe to the very heart, and insinuate ones self into the mind, by all those charms and delicate stroaks which Eloquence is capable of, then it is that *Cicero's* art is triumphant, and that his diffused, enlarged discourse, succeeds far better then *Demosthenes* his more close concise way; and the one has not more power in the surprising strength of his  
rea-



reasoning, then the other gain's by the warming and affecting motions he raises.

• We should have known much more from this learn'd Critick, who was so Judicious, were the place where he makes this comparison perfect, and if the greatest part of it were not lost, to the no small dissatisfaction of his interpreters. But however, he says enough to establish that distinction I have put between their manner of writing; which I likewise find altogether conformable to *Plutarch's* opinion, who where he compares these two Orators, says that *Demosthenes* is every where concise and close, and his arguments very pressing, without any ornament or beauty: whilst *Cicero* scatters many graces throughout his discourse, and is every where pleasing. *Philostratus* in the life of the *Sophisters*, and *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* in the Epistle to his friend *Ameus*, passe the same Judgment on *Demosthenes*. But

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But whilst we thus distinguish between the divers qualities of these Orators, wee must in some manner limite what we have delivered; for though *Cicero* was generally insinuating and affecting, yet he could likewise when it was requisite, adde to his naturall sweetnesse as much passion and indignation, as his subject required, or the most transported spirit was capable of; as it appears in the Orations he made against *Verres*, *Piso*, *Claudius*, *Vatinius*, *Catiline*, and *Marc-Antony*. *Demosthenes* is likewise not so absolutely given to be violent and passionate, but that he can sometimes make use of the other softer way, as it appears in some passages of his *Olynthiacs*, in the Oration about the liberty of the *Rhodians*, in the defence of *Diophites*, and that of *Ctesiphon*, and in the Oration against *Midias*, though the greatest part of this last be very vehement. But  
seeing

seeing the Genius of *Demoſthenes*, his nature, his art, his auſtere manners, and even his action and geſtures inclin'd him to be more preſſing and violent, and that all *Cicero's* natural qualities were ſuch as were more pleaſing and touching; one may methinks without being much miſtaken, diſtinguiſh them by theſe two aſſign'd ways of writing, wherein does conſiſt their greateſt perfection and the Eſſentiall difference of their Characters. And it was doubtleſſe as much for this reaſon, as out of his inclination, that *Demoſthenes* dealt more in Accuſations than *Cicero*, for he hardly ever undertooke the defence of any one, but his ſevere humour led him rather to the contrary; and *Cicero* accuſed but few perſons, for his nature was more inclin'd to ſweetneſſe and pitty, and it was againſt his will if he accuſed any man.

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Yet *Cicero's* Genius being more universall then that of *Demosthenes*, he knew better to turn and wind himself to all things, and to transforme his into any of the other Characters of Eloquence. He knew likewise by a peculiar art he had, how far to urge and pursue a subject, when it was requisite to be violent, which methinks *Demosthenes*, through indulging too much to his inclination, did not observe, and in which it was very easy to exceed: for no body delights in being continually importun'd and prest, but one can never be weary of being touch'd with what is pleasing, or of being entertain'd with it; and this is *Cicero's* great talent, who pleases always, and by means of the delight he affects us with, inspires into us what sentiments he will. It is this taking aire, which accompany's all he says, & constitutes that his sweet obliging kind of Eloquence, wherewith all souls are charm'd.

But

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But besides *Demosthenes's* his natural inclination, that had in it nothing of tender, but was harsh and austere, the laws of his Country forbad him to make use of any affecting passages, as I observed before; so that for the most part, he is very cold and mean in his Perorations, which are ordinarily only plain conclusions of what he was about, or at the best meer wishes for the glory & prosperity of his Country, which he made with very much concern, to give some kind of vigour to the end of his discourses.

## CHAP. XIX.

*Wherein is debated which of the  
two ways of speaking is best.*

**I**T will be easy by what I have discours'd about Eloquence in general, to determine, which of the two ways so remarkable in these two Orators, is to be prefer'd. The Orator who perswades best is doubtless the most Eloquent: and seeing he perswades but in proportion as he pleases, because the art of perswading is one & the same with that of pleasing, as <sup>a</sup> *Quintilian* observes from *Plato's Gorgias*, one may venture to say, that *Cicero*, who pleases more than *Demosthenes*, is at least in that particular more Eloquent than he,

<sup>a</sup> *Peritiam gratiæ & voluptatis*, lib. 2. c. 15.

unless

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unless there being two ways of persuasion, one that works upon the mind and understanding, and another upon the heart and will, it be likewise requisite to examine, which of those two ways is most suitable for an Orator to use.

The persuasion of the understanding is effected by a kind of dazzling light, which is darted forth, and a violent impulse of reasons which the mind cannot resist: it works in a certain elevated manner, and with such force, as surprizes and confounds the faculties, \* as *Aristotle* observes: but that of the heart is produced by those graces and pleasing charmes, which captivate the will, and draw her after them so delightfully, that she is pleas'd in forsaking her resolutions, and in giving away her liberty. For as the understanding does not assent unto any thing, but

\* Θεορῶνται δὲ μᾶλλον ἰσχυρομενικῶς. lib. 1. cap. 2, Rhet.

the

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the evidence of reason, and to that which enlightens her, so neither can the will yeild it self, to any thing but the alleſſive of good, & what is taking and pleaſing, neither does it ceaſe to aſt voluntarily in ſubmitting it ſelf to the pleaſure that carries it away, becauſe in that it followes its own inclination, which is to be pleas'd.

It is ſufficient that one be ſenſible, to be capable of being touch'd and perſwaded by the mediation of the heart, but nobody can be perſwaded in his underſtanding unleſs he be reaſonable, that is doe both underſtand and yield to the force of conſequence. So that the Orator who makes it his chief buſineſs to pleaſe that he may perſwade, goes a ſurer way to work than he who ſtrives only to do it by conviction, becauſe every one is capable of being affected with what is pleaſant.

It is without doubt for this reaſon,  
that



that *Cicero* says, <sup>a</sup> the multitude is a better Judge of Eloquence, then learned men. For besides that the people are not ordinarily prepossess'd with those opinions, about which learned men dispute, they doe likewise judge as one may so say, according to the heart, that is less subject to be impos'd upon than the understanding, which according to ill representations of things and false lights, it may have been affected with, is more liable to see things otherwise than they really are: On the other side, the heart which judges only according to what it resents, cannot be mistaken, seeing it can resent nothing from any but what that thing hath really in it. Only natural true beauties affect this; when false apparent ones doe often please understanding and learned men, whose palate is more

<sup>a</sup> *Quod probat multitudo, id doctis probandum. Cic. in Brut.*

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corrupted by the divers tastes they  
have experienced.

And this Eloquence which works  
upon the understanding, is rather  
an instruction than Rhetorick, that  
I mean which *Socrates* <sup>a</sup> mentions in  
*Plato*; and though there be some  
minds on which nothing will work,  
but the force of reason, and who must  
be convinc'd before they can be per-  
swaded, yet I esteem it not conve-  
nient to be always urging of argu-  
ments, and that as home as one can;  
for at least it is certain, that it is na-  
tural to yield ones self more willing-  
ly to a gentle than a fierce haughty  
conqueror. And this is the reason why  
*Homer*, who makes his *Nestor* Eloquent  
in perfection, puts in sweetness as  
the chief part of his Character.

Nevertheless that Eloquence, which  
works upon the understanding is  
more glorious, than that which wins

<sup>a</sup> Cui Socrates non docendi, sed persuadendi fa-  
cultatem tribuit, Quint. lib. 2. cap. 15.

the heart. A heart that is affected, is no such subject for the triumph of an Oratour, as a convicted mind, and that which strikes the mind makes a more lasting impression, because that reason which gave the stroak still continues the same, but that which touches the heart vanishes with the heat of that passion which produc'd it, because <sup>a</sup>all things that proceed from passion are very transient. Finally in as much as the resistance of the understanding is more difficult to be overcome than that of the will, so is passion less powerfull to perswade than reason.

This tempestuous Eloquence, which *Aristotle* saies troubles our minds, by overturning our opinions and subduing our reason, never does any thing but openly, and so as to be taken notice of, her stroakes stun and dazle like lightning, and smite like thun-

<sup>a</sup> *Nihil citius arescit lachryma.* l.6.c. 1.

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der, shee is like those whirlwinds, which overturne the tallest trees with the same facility as the trembling reed. Such was *Demosthenes* his Eloquence, who had the art of governing and mastering the minds of the most fierce, light and untractable people that ever was. This masterless rabble, which was so jealous of the merits of any one that made himsele remarkable in their commonwealth, did submit their reason to that of *Demosthenes*, who forced them to bend under the weight of so irresistible a power. The truth is *Cicero's* Eloquence charmes the mind, but *Demosthenes's* astonishes; the former mak's it self lov'd, the latter fear'd and obeyed. After all it is very difficult to say which is the most advantageous for an Orator. If I were to speake to person's above me, I should chuse to please like *Cicero*; If to a people below me, I would fright

fright them like *Demosthenes*. However since that all this distinction I make between these two Oratours does not decide the controversy, nor give either of them the precedence, I shall leave the debate to those who have so good an opinion of themselves, as to think they are equal to it; when I shall have added a word out of *Sidonius*, which does more particularly point at the difference that may be found betwixt them. It is in an Epistle to a friend of his called *Claudian*, who was brother to *Mamercus* Bishop of Vienna, where he says speaking of his Eloquence, *that he is violent and passionate like Demosthenes, and persuades like Cicero.*

Before I put an end to this comparison, I can not omit the opinion of *Monsieur De Vair* keeper of the Seale, who after having translated into our language the Oration of

*Irascitur ut Demosthenes, persuadet ut Tullius. l. 3. cap. 4.*

Demo-

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*Demosthenes* for *Ctesiphon*, and *Cicero's* for *Milo*, which he thought the best which those Orators ever made, without meddling with the controversy about the precedence, which he avoids, he say's neverthelesse in his discourse of Eloquence, that *Cicero's* is lesse suitable to our humours and tempers then that of *Demosthenes*. It may be he minded not what he said. For besides the disgust those bitter and cruell invectives, which the Greeks used towards one another in their accusations, would produce in a gentle and civilis'd nation; We are likewise better natured than to be pleased with *Demosthenes's* harsh and dry way, which designs the moving or touching the affections, especially in competition with *Cicero's* soft and charming Eloquence. I might mention many more disproportions between our humours and his kind of writing, as his violent declama-

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clamatory way, and excessive transportment, his bold figures, and those passionate Apostrophe's and frequent invocations of the Sun, starrs, rivers and fountains, and swearing by insensible things; as also those dry barren argumentations, that are void of all graces & artificial ornaments, and generally his whole manner of writing so opposite to us, with whom *Cicero's* way agrees and takes best.

I made some stay upon the unraveling of the essential difference of their two Characters, that I might doe it more exactly. The Comparison of their other qualities, as it is more easy to be made, so it will not require we should spend so much time about it. There appeares in *Demosthenes* his art more pains and care, but *Cicero's* is more pleasing. *Tully* allows himself a larger field in his amplifications, and in the ordinary course of his orations, as the greatness of the Theater on which  
his

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his Eloquence appear'd, which was the Capital City of the world, did require: whereas *Demosthenes* seems to have proportion'd himself to the fortune of the people with whom he had to doe, which being confin'd to narrower limits, his style was the more agreeable thereto. But both *Demosthenes* and *Cicero* arriv'd to such perfection each in his way, that <sup>a</sup> *nothing can be spared from one, nor added to the other* says *Quintilian*.

It must be confessed after all, that *Demosthenes* his ratiocinations are stronger and closer than *Cicero's*, and that according to the height of his spirit, he was capable of none but great subjects, as that of setting out fleets against the Persian, of bringing the State into a settled order of Peace, of the Rhodians liberty, of the succours that ought to be sent to the neighboring people against *Philip*, and all the most Impor-

<sup>a</sup> *Huic nihil detrahi potest, illi nihil addi.* l. 10. c. 1.  
rant



tant affaires of Greece. So that it seemes he could not take any other subjects for his Orations, disdaining to stoop to lower. Which *Cicero* out of the universal extent of his abilities and fancy which he would fit as well to mean as higher subjects, never stuck at. For his discourse can in every part of it uphold it self by its proper strength, whereas that of *Demosthenes* required sometimes to be made out and maintained by his action, which was the life of it. The former was fearfull when he was to speak in publick, the latter bold and confident; though he was once out of countenance speaking to *Philip*. *Demosth.*<sup>a</sup> was so positively affirmative, that he would always be thought to be in the right, but *Cicero* was content to make it appear he was so. *Demosthenes* was but seldom known to aime at wit; but it was so naturall to *Cicero* to be facerious, that he was pleasant in his

<sup>a</sup> *Quorundam probatio in sola asseveratione. C. 2. l. 4. Inst. aduersity*

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versity, only his exile did something disorder his ingenious fancy whilst it lasted. The Roman was of a very personable presence, had a comely face, and a good clear loud voice. The Greek was not unhandsome, but the earnestnesse of his action did recompence for the other exteriour quality's which he wanted. The truth is he spake with much more heat and vigour, and *Cicero* more gracefully and pleasingly. Finally though according to the principles I fixed upon, before I enter'd upon the distinction I have made between their two Characters, I find that *Demosthenes* his aire is more majestick then that of *Cicero*, and that *Cicero's* is more pleasing then that of *Demosthenes*, yet if we consider the circumstances of time, persons, and affaires, we must needs conclude, that both these Orators were perfectly accomplish'd each in their kind, and that they could

could not have been so, but by the different ways they took as most suitable to the temper of their Auditory's; that their peculiar excellence, and the great advantage they had in Eloquence was founded, upon the perfect knowledge they had of the dispositions of the people with whom they dealt, and in the skill they had of fitting themselves to their Genius; in such manner that one would imagine Rome and Cicero were made for one another, and Demosthenes for his Athens, and that never any third person arriv'd to that supreme degree of perfection, as did these two great men. But seeing the divers ways they took doe constitute two quite different kinds of Eloquence, I shall leave it to be decided which of the two is the best, by those that understand it better then I pretend to do. Yet that

\* *Orationis differentiam fecisse & dicentium & audientium naturæ videntur. Quint. l. 12, c. 9.*

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I may plainly cleare this matter, I shall make an end of explaining the remaining difficulty's about this subject.

CHAP. XX.

*A resolution of some remaining difficulties by way of conclusion to this discourse.*

**T**He first difficulty that presents it self in the comparison we are making, is a certain passage in *Quintilian*, whose suffrage is very considerable in this case, which he has so diligently examin'd. For seeing he pretends that *Demosthenes* is the modell from which *Cicero* took pattern, he seems to give the former a great advantage over the latter: These are his words. *Cicero must yeeld to Demosthenes as his originall, and him who made him what he is.*

is. The truth is, this commendation is so glorious for *Demosthenes*, that it may be doubted whether *Quintilian* has not said in it more than he thought. For this Critick, after having exalted *Cicero* above all Oratours, seems very much to debase him, and rank him below *Demosthenes*. I scarce beleieve after the observations we have made, that all people will be of his opinion; or that this Oratour, who was the most celebrated Oracle of the mistress City of the world & never open'd his mouth but to send forth charm's, and enslave the most free people that ever was, I say I scarce believe this man of so admirable, discerning and universal parts ought to yeeld to *Demosthenes* because he was his pattern.

For if *Demosthenes* himself has out

<sup>a</sup> *Cedendum vero in hoc quod ille & prior fuit, & Ciceronem quantus est magna ex parte fecit, lib. 10. c. 1. Infit.*

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done. *Pericles*, in *Lucian's* opinion, though he took him for his exemplar, if he has effac'd the glory of *Thucydides*, whom he did so exactly and carefully imitate, as the Orator *Ulpian* who is his most faithful interpreter relates, what should hinder us from believing, that *Cicero* has at least equal'd *Demosthenes*? Hath not *Virgill* equal'd *Homer*? hath not *Aristotle* gon beyond *Plato*? though *Homer* and *Plato* were the modells by which *Virgil* and *Aristotle* framed their works? Did not *Raphael Santi*, that great artist in painting, obscure the reputation of *P. Perusinus* who was his master, and the copy by which he drew? And doe we not see dayly, persons of great capacity's, who in all arts doe farr surpasse those from whom they have the first instructions and light into

But *Cicero* confesses that he proposed to himselfe *Demosthenes* as his pattern, but could not arrive

to that perfection he strove to imitate in him. I deny it not, for this great man as he was something vain, so had he also some fits of modesty, but they lasted not long as it appears on this occasion: for he elsewhere disgusts even *Demosthenes* himself, where he declares, that in some places he is not satisfied with him. And besides that, it may be said, he strove to imitate *Demosthenes* only in that forcible vehement way which he so admires in him, and which the truth is he did hardly arrive to. Neither know I whether he desired it or no, For those that can be charming and pleasing when they will, care not so much to be terrible and violent, as often as they can. But *Quintilian* decides it clearly, where he say's

<sup>a</sup> *Imitemur Demosthenem quid aliud agimus? sed non assequimur.*

<sup>b</sup> *Usque eo morosi sumus ut non satisfaciat ipse Demosthenes.*

that

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That Cicero was powerfull as Demosthenes, copious as Plato, and pleasing like Isocrates.

The second difficulty we meet with, is an expression in *Longinus*, about *Demosthenes*, which his abettors it may be will not approve of. *Longinus* in the comparison he makes between *Hyperides* and *Demosthenes*, say's that he understands not mens tempers so, as thereby to set the passions in motion; which is that wherein Eloquence may most display her power. The truth is we must agree with him that he understood not very well the different motions of the soul, nor that temper of the mind, which *Aristotle* explaines in his *Rhetorick*, which *Demosthenes* never saw, what ever *Lucian* as exact as he is, and *Aulus Gellius* who is very judicious pretend to the con-

<sup>a</sup> Videtur Cicero vim effinxisse Demosthenis, copiam Platonis, juvenilitatem Isocratis, l. 10. C. 1.

<sup>b</sup> ἀνδροπαθητός sect. 13.



trary. For it is evident that *Aristotle* wrote not that book till he was pretty well in years, and after having studied above twenty years under *Plato*, without declaring himself for any of those sects of *Philosophers*, which were then in vogue at *Athens*, or so much as teaching.

It is likewise evident, that *Demosthenes* spoke all his most considerable Orations, before the Prætorship of *Lyfimachides*, and that *Aristotle* wrote his books of Rhetorick some time after. Nay he does there make some kind of mention of the Oration for *Ctesiphon*, in these words [as to the matter of *Demosthenes*] which that Orator spoke nine years after the Chersonesian war, eight years after the death of *Philip*, and about the time of the victory which *Alexander* got at *Arbela*. This is *Dionysius Halicarnasseus* his opinion in his Epistle to *Ammeus*, and the

ἡ ἀρετὴ διηγουμένης οἰκίας.

reputation

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reputation this author hath of being a very exact and carefull Chronologer, does make his suffrage much more considerable. And *Laertius* observes that *Alexander* forbad *Aristotle* to let any besides himself see his books of Rhetorick, that he might alone have the enjoyment of so great a treasure; and *Plutarch* relates the same thing.

So then we ought not to wonder, if *Demosthenes* understood so little of peoples manners and tempers, according to *Longinus*, seeing he could not come to the sight of that Treatise *Aristotle* has made of them in his Rhetorick; where he has very plainly layd open the whole mystery. And in this, *Cicero* had the advantage over *Demosthenes*; for he drew all that perfect knowledge he had in those matters, from that copious spring. I stand not to examine, why some pretend that *Aristotle* wrot his books of Rhetorick only from  
that

that he saw *Demosthenes* make use of, because it has no ground. They would to have some reason for what they say, had *Demosthenes* been the only Oratour *Aristotle* had heard, but he was the Auditor of *Hyperides*, *Demades*, *Lysias*, *Phocion*, *Eschines*, *Python*, and many others; he had likewise some acquaintance with *I-fens* and *Isocrates*, not to mention *Plato*, whom he had thoroughly search'd into. And he fram'd from all these great patterns taken together, and from the reflections he had made on them himself, that admirable platform of Rhetorick which he has left us; & which ought rather to be meditated upon than read, as well as the rest of his works, for it is an unvaluable treasure; which those who speake in publick can't be too much exhorted to read, and thoroughly search into all the art it contains. But as it is probable *Cicero* understood the intrigues of mans heart

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heart better then *Demosthenes*, having learn't it so well from *Aristotle*, so to be even with him *Demosthenes* understood better the interest of his own and the neighboring nations, then *Cicero* did that of all the allies of the Empire. *Philip's* Ambition, which had long sow'd divisions among the Greeks by many dark contrivances and secret practises, had long taken up his mind, and he had made it his businesse to follow and study his designs. This he had firmly set upon, and the perfect knowledge he had of it, gave him an opportunity of laying open, to the greatest advantage the particular interest that all nations had to oppose themselves unanimously to the encreasing greatnesse of that Prince: and this did exceedingly set off his Eloquence, by the glorious representations of those things which were for the publick good; and those frequent Politick Ratiocinations,

tions, wherewith most of his discourses abound, and which are so effectually in his Orations, whose subjects are always either great in themselves, or made so by the art he has of bringing into them affairs of great concern. So that power and weightiness, which *Quintilian* seems to ascribe to the Romans above the Greeks, to whom he yields the pre-eminence as to gracefulness and delicacy of writing, is not to be interpreted in my opinion of *Demosthenes* and *Cicero* in particular, but of the whole nations, and their two languages, For the Greek is more delightfull and pleasant, and the Latine more grave and serious.

The last difficulty would be to satisfy the Criticks, in giving them here a parallel of the best passages in *Demosthenes's* Orations with those

<sup>a</sup> Non possumus esse tam graciles, simus fortiores: subtilitate vincimur, valcamus pondere. lib. 12. cap. 20.  
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in *Cicero*; which it may be, might be very acceptable to them, & would be a going to the very bottom of the case in dispute and pursuing the comparison as farre as ever it will be carried. To w<sup>ch</sup> I answer three things, First that there is nothing more difficult then to agree upon those passages which are best in these two Orators, being men have such different palats as to those matters, that they are so far from ever agreeing about them, that we cannot according to the rules of prudence to dispute of them. Secondly that if we had agreed upon them, those choise passages must either be translated into our language, that they might be compar'd, or be lett alone each in their own, from both which many inconveniencies would arise.

For as every language hath a particular Character of its own, and a certain beauty which is peculiar to its self, and cannot possibly be  
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express'd in any other, it would not be a little difficult, to be just to both languages in the translation, and it would be a kind of degradation from their elevated style, to translate them into any modern language, because they are not yet arriv'd to that majestick height, which learned men find in the Greek and Latine, whose Characters have in them something more great and strong than ours.

This is easily discovered in Comedies, where the language being constrained to trust as it were to its own meer naturall strength, maintains its self alway's in Greek and Latine at another rate than does the translation, in which the expression is often weaker ev'n in verse, and will never beare it self up with any successe in prose, by reason of a certain poor and languishing weakness that it has. Lastly it may be replied that *Lipsius* in many places of his works hath already

ready compar'd the most admir'd passages in these two authors, as also Father *Causinus* in his Parallel of Eloquence, which neither of them had any successe in, for the reasons already mention'd. So that it would be not only imprudent, but also unprofitable to venture at it again, after their miscarriage in the attempt; especially since those passages cannot be taken out from the rest of the discourse, without being spoil'd and strip'd of their greatest beauty, which many times consists only in that exact proportion, and suitableness they have with the other parts. It ought to be in a discourse as in buildings, whose beauty consists in a generall uniformity.

This may easily be seen in that admirable passage of *Demosthenes* his Oration for *Ctesiphon*, which is so cried up by all the great masters of Eloquence, where he say's. *No it*



is not so, I swear it by the ashes and  
 'Manes of those brave men that were  
 kil'd in the battles of Salamis and Ma-  
 rathon. &c. where the Orator sets  
 forth all that is great and glorious  
 in Eloquence, and which indeed is  
 admirable if it be well considered.  
 But it is not the same thing, when  
 it is taken out of its place, and  
 look't upon by its self, without be-  
 ing concerned, or having ones mind  
 prepar'd by what goes before; for  
 so the dependance of it and its pro-  
 portion to the rest, which make's  
 up all its beauty, appears not. The  
 same may be said of that passage in  
 Cicero, which *Quintilian* commends  
 so much in the Oration for *Milo*,  
*Vos Albani tumuli atque luci*: and of  
 many others. But those who are so  
 curious as to desire to make this  
 comparison, may be satisfied with  
 opposing *Demosthenes's Philippicks* to  
*Cicero's*, for both the subject and  
 the way in which they treat of it, is  
 much

much the same ; so that they can nowhere be better compar'd.

And it may be the observing of the most essentiall parts of their Characters, will be found sufficient to enable any body to judg exactly between these two Orators, without descending to a long tedious research, which would have swel'd into a compleat treatise of Grammar or Rhetorick ; a designe distant enough from what I pretended to: for it was not my purpose, to write for the satisfaction of Pedants and Grammarians, who love to examine things with a Criticall nicety, that is altogether ridiculous : and tis very probable, they will be the only persons, who will not think this matter sufficiently clear'd. But I am certain, that those who are really learned will judge I have said enough, to furnish any body with a rule, whereby to judge of the rest.

Lastly as I am not so vaine as to  
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value my self upon the reflections I have made upon these two Orators, so I desire it may be known from whence I have gathered them, which may somethings conduce to authorise them the more. I declare therefore that I have delivered nothing of *Demosthenes*, but what I had from the most learned writers of Antiquity, who knew him best, and among the rest *Dionysius Halicarnassens*, *Hermogenes*, *Plutarch*, *Longinus*, *Lucian*, *Cicero*, *Quintilian* and *Photius*. As for *Cicero*, though it may be I am pretty well acquainted with him my self, yet I chose rather to trust the Judgment of *Seneca*, *Plutarch*, *Quintilian*, *Longinus*, and the Historians who were his contemporary's, then to my own. As I have not then spoken at randome about these great men, so possibly I may have contributed by these observations, to make them known after another manner then they usually are. And

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it may be this discourse will not be uselesse to those, who have a love for Eloquence, to call into their minds the notions of it, by the greatest Characters thereof that ever were, and which it is good now and then to consider to frame ones self after such patterns. Some may also discover in it the way that must be followed to attain Eloquence, by pursuing that which these have already taken: and the Pictures I have made of them may also enable us to discover who are the *Demosthenes's* and the *Cicero's* of our age, or those who come nighest them, if there be any that doe so.

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